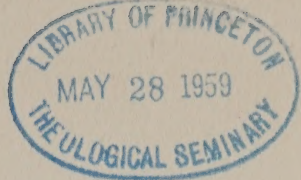


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Darius the Mede



Darius the Mede

A Study in Historical Identification

by

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To
EDISENE
my beloved wife
and to
our three children
DAVID, DONALD, AND CONSTANCE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
ISBE	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
PTR	<i>Princeton Theological Review</i>
RAAO	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
SBD-1	Wilson, <i>Studies in the Book of Daniel: A Discussion of the Historical Questions</i> (1917)
SBD-2	Wilson, <i>Studies in the Book of Daniel: Second Series</i> (1938)
TSBA	<i>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>

FOREWORD

by R. Laird Harris

"Darius, the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes." What an imposing title to be totally forgotten by following centuries! Only in the Book of Daniel is this man mentioned. Secular history and archaeological discovery know of no one ruling in Babylon between Belshazzar and Cyrus the Great. Who, then, was Darius?

Critical scholars have with one voice proclaimed this Darius to have been a mistake. Because history shows no such Darius, there must have been none. The Biblical statements must therefore be in error. This Darius was a confusion for Darius the Great of 521-486 B.C. or someone else. The Bible is wrong, they say.

To this problem Dr. Whitcomb addresses himself with a good measure of success. Bible-believing scholars have for some years recognized this problem and have felt that an answer would some day come. They cannot forget that only thirty years ago Belshazzar himself was as great a problem. History and archaeology then knew no ruler between Nabonidus, king of Babylon in its last days, and Cyrus the conqueror. Belshazzar has now been recognized by all as co-king with Nabonidus, fitting exactly the description of Daniel. Dr. Whitcomb argues that Darius the Mede was a subordinate official whom Cyrus had placed over Babylon and that again the history of the Book of Daniel can be defended. The possibility is thus opened that here also secular history and the Bible complement each other.

Dr. Donald Wiseman of the British Museum has lately advanced an alternative explanation. Wiseman's suggestion, based in part on new texts, is that Darius the Mede was but an alternative name for Cyrus the Persian as James VI of Scotland used the name James I in England. Whitcomb gives adequate discussion of this view, meanwhile arguing for his own. We may hope for further discoveries bearing on the discussion.

In the meanwhile, Dr. Whitcomb has done us a real service in collecting the material known to date, discussing it carefully, and offering a view whereby the Bible can be reconciled with known facts. Thus the orthodox Christian, believing in the Book of Daniel on other grounds, finds two available explanations of an old difficulty! Both have attrac-

tions. Both are consistent with a full belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures. The Evangelical Theological Society is happy to have this discussion of Dr. Whitcomb's presented that all might see the problem in better perspective and that an advance might be made toward a final solution. An older author, speaking of the critical attack on the Book of Daniel, referred to it as "Daniel in the critics' den." We may now say that Daniel's lions appear again to have been disappointed!

INTRODUCTION

The Book of Daniel has long been a battleground of Biblical criticism. The reason for this is not to be found in the lack of historical information concerning the date and authorship of the book, but rather in the very nature of the book itself. For the Book of Daniel claims to be a sixth century B.C. document which sets forth, among other things, a series of prophetic visions that outlines the course of world history down to the time of Christ and beyond.

Now it is quite obvious that such astonishing prophecies as are recorded in the Book of Daniel could not remain unchallenged by critical minds. And such, indeed, has been the case. For beginning with the heathen philosopher Porphyry (233-304 A.D.)¹, and culminating in the higher criticism of the past two centuries, men have sought to escape the powerful and compelling evidence of fulfilled prophecy by maintaining that the Book of Daniel was written *after* the fulfillment of its prophecies. Kliefoth gives a penetrating analysis of the reasoning which underlies the higher critical rejection of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel:

If a man accepts a notion of God, who either is nothing more than the natural laws, or is so completely bound up in His own natural laws that He is unable to break through them by any free act of His own, such a man, we say, cannot conceive of an actual miracle nor of a true prophecy. But he who thus finds his path blocked by his own peculiar conceptions, which eliminate both miracles and prophecy, must of necessity dispose of this book in some way, even if it be in the way followed by the old heathen Porphyry in his critical and subversive comments, for in this book, Daniel experiences miracles and receives prophecies.²

The direction of critical attack upon the Book of Daniel has been somewhat changed, however, as a result of recent archaeological discoveries in Babylonia. For example, the once-rejected Biblical account of Belshazzar has been strikingly confirmed by the discovery of numerous cuneiform tablets dating from the sixth century B.C.³

¹See Edward J. Young, "Porphyry and His Criticism of Daniel," *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1949), pp. 317-320.

²Quoted in H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1949), p. 8.

³See, for example, Raymond P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 186ff.

But Darius the Mede, who is presented in the Book of Daniel as the ruler of Babylon following the fall of the city in 539 B.C., has now become the main target of critical attacks upon the book in the mid-twentieth century. Professor H. H. Rowley, a well-known Old Testament scholar in England, adequately expresses the prevailing attitude with regard to this Biblical character:

The references to Darius the Mede in the Book of Daniel have long been recognized as providing the most serious historical problem of the book. . . . The claim of the Book of Daniel to be a work of history, written by a well-informed contemporary, is shattered beyond repair by this fiction of Darius the Mede. . . . So far as Darius the Mede is concerned, we have seen that there is no way of reconciling the Book of Daniel with assured history, and all the efforts of the apologists, of whom the present century has seen a new and plentiful crop, definitely fail.⁴

In the light of such confident assertions as these, on the part of representatives of the modern school of Biblical higher criticism, the defender of the historicity of Darius the Mede in the Book of Daniel finds himself compelled to examine all the available evidence with the most painstaking scrutiny, being assured in his own heart that such investigation can only lead to an ultimate vindication of the Scriptures.

The career of Darius the Mede is silhouetted against the fiery backdrop of the Fall of Babylon—an event of surpassing importance from the historical point of view. Raymond P. Dougherty points out that during a period of nearly four hundred years the great city of Babylon fell more than once into the hands of its enemies, but that its capitulation to Cyrus the Persian in 539 B.C. was so important in comparison to these other disasters, that it alone is called “The Fall of Babylon” in history. The explanation for this lies in the fact that 539 B.C. marked the collapse of Semitic hegemony in the ancient Orient, and the introduction of Aryan leadership which continued for at least a thousand years. This conquest of Babylon by Cyrus laid the foundation for all the later developments under Greek and Roman rule in the Mediterranean and the Near East.⁵

For Biblical history also, the Fall of Babylon was a crucial turning point. It marked the termination of the seventy-year period of captivity which God had imposed upon His people as punishment for their idolatry and sin (Jer. 25:12, 29:10, Dan. 9:2, II Chron. 36:21-23). And

⁴H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires of the Book of Daniel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1935), pp. 9, 59, 175.

⁵Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168.

it also marked the commencement of the great restoration period, when a remnant of 50,000 Jews under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Joshua returned to Jerusalem to restore the Temple, with the approval and protection of Cyrus (Ezra 1-6).

To see Darius the Mede in his proper perspective, therefore, we must weigh carefully all the pertinent Biblical and extra-Biblical information concerning the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great and the early years of the Achaemenid Persian rule in Babylonia.⁶ With this historical data before us, we shall seek to demonstrate that Darius the Mede is not a fictitious character, spun out of the fertile but historically confused imagination of a second-century B.C. writer, as the modern critics maintain; but that he can be successfully identified with the famous governor of Babylon and the Region beyond the River, who appears under the name of Gubaru in the cuneiform documents that come down to us from the period immediately following the Fall of Babylon.

In presenting our proof for this identification, we shall first set forth the Biblical information concerning Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian (in the Book of Daniel). This will be followed by a presentation of the historical evidence for the career of Gubaru the Governor of Babylon as gathered from the Babylonian cuneiform documents of that era. Next, the various objections to the identification of Darius the Mede with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon will be considered, along with the two major alternate identifications. Our discussion will conclude with the presentation of six arguments for the historical accuracy of the sixth chapter of the Book of Daniel, which contains the account of Darius the Mede.

⁶See Appendix I for a brief outline of the history of Media and Persia during the period under question.

Chapter One

THE BIBLICAL DATA CONCERNING DARIUS THE MEDE

A full understanding of the problems involved in identifying Darius the Mede necessitates, first of all, a careful analysis of the Biblical information concerning him. The relevant data with respect to Darius the Mede (and also Cyrus the Persian) will first be set forth in the order in which it appears in the Book of Daniel. This will be followed by a topical summarization of the information thus outlined. Biblical quotations in this chapter, and throughout the entire monograph, are taken from the American Standard Version, 1901.

(a) 1:21 — "And Daniel continued even unto the first year of king Cyrus."

(b) 5:31 — "In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain. And Darius the Mede received the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old."

(c) 6:1 — "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty satraps, who should be throughout the whole kingdom."

(d) 6:2 — Darius set "over them three presidents, of whom Daniel was one; that these satraps might give account unto them, and that the king should have no damage."

(e) 6:3 — "Then this Daniel was distinguished above the presidents and the satraps, because an excellent spirit was in him; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm."

(f) Darius the Mede is called "king" twenty-eight times in the sixth chapter of Daniel.

(g) 6:6 — "Then these presidents and satraps... said unto him, King Darius, live for ever."

(h) 6:7 — The subordinates of Darius are listed as "the presidents of the kingdom, the deputies and the satraps, the counsellors and the governors."

(i) 6:7-9 — Darius had the authority to "establish the interdict, and sign the writing, that it be not changed according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

(j) 6:7—This decree is described as “a royal statute, and...a strong interdict, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions.”

(k) 6:12-16—Darius attempted in vain to annul the interdict that he had signed, because “it is a law of the Medes and Persians, that no interdict nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.”

(l) 6:16—As Daniel was about to be thrown into the den of lions, Darius said to him: “Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.”

(m) 6:17—Darius sealed the den with “his own signet, and with the signet of his lords; that nothing might be changed concerning Daniel.”

(n) 6:18-23—The tremendous concern which Darius had for the welfare of Daniel is evidenced in the following statements: “Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting; neither were instruments of music brought before him: and his sleep fled from him. Then the king arose very early in the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions. And when he came near unto the den to Daniel, he cried with a lamentable voice; the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions? Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live for ever.... Then was the king exceeding glad, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den.”

(o) 6:24—Darius ordered the accusers of Daniel to be cast “into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives.”

(p) 6:25-26—“Then king Darius wrote unto all the peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth: Peace be multiplied unto you. I make a decree, that in all the dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel.”

(q) 6:28—“So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.”

(r) 9:1—“In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans....”

(s) 10:1—“In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel....”

(t) 11:1—“...in the first year of Darius the Mede....”

(u) 11:2-4—“Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and when he is waxed strong through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece.

And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven, but not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, wherewith he ruled, for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others besides these."

On the basis of the Biblical information just presented, we may now summarize topically the career and personal characteristics of Darius the Mede.

Personal background. He bore the same name as Darius king of Persia (cf. Ezra 4:5 — *dāryāwesh*); and his father's name was Ahasuerus (*'āhashwērōsh*), being the same name as the son of Darius king of Persia, Xerxes (cf. Ezra 4:6). He was not merely called a Mede, but actually *was* a Mede, because he was "of the seed of the Medes" (9:1). He was born in the year 601/600 B.C., since he was "about threescore and two years old" in the autumn of 539 B.C. when he received the kingdom of Babylonia after the death of Belshazzar (5:31).

Political power. Darius the Mede is said to have been "made king over the realm of the Chaldeans" (9:1). This Hebrew expression strongly suggests that he was not the absolute monarch of the Persian Empire, but was rather a subordinate.¹ In spite of his subordinate position with regard to the ruler of the entire Persian Empire (Cyrus the Great), however, he did exercise vast administrative powers *within* the realm of the Chaldeans. It was Darius the Mede who appointed 120 satraps in the kingdom of Babylonia and three presidents over them, of whom Daniel was chief. He was addressed: "King Darius, live for ever," and had the power to execute a royal interdict that none could ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days except of him. This interdict could not be changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians; but Darius the Mede was himself included among those who could not change this law.

Darius the Mede had the power to command that various of his subordinates be cast into the den of lions with their wives and children, and to make a decree that all the peoples, nations, and languages "that dwell in all the earth" (that is to say, "in all the dominion of *my kingdom*") should tremble and fear before the God of Daniel. Daniel is said to have prospered in "the reign of Darius," and events are dated in the first year of his reign (9:1, 11:1).

¹See below, pp. 39-40, for our discussion on this question of Darius' subordination to Cyrus.

Personal characteristics. The sixth chapter of Daniel reveals Darius the Mede as having been a ruler of great administrative ability.² He had the discernment to see "an excellent spirit" in Daniel, and thus appointed him as chief president. He was willing to follow the advice of his counsellors, but too easily permitted his own vanity to ensnare him in their trap. Darius may also have been possessed by the notion of divinity of kings, whereby none could bypass him in making petitions to super-human beings.

This momentary lapse in his character is offset by his marvellous loyalty to Daniel in the hour of his peril; his remarkable faith in God's ability to deliver Daniel from the lions (6:16); and his acquiescence in the law of the land after having expended every effort to rescind the penalty. Furthermore, the unselfish concern he had for Daniel's well-being is evidenced by the night of fasting, his refusal to be comforted by the musicians, his sleeplessness, his haste to reach the den of lions at the earliest possible moment the following morning, the anxious cry "with a lamentable voice" toward the den of lions, and the exceeding gladness with which he heard the triumphant response of Daniel from the den.

Darius the Mede had a strong sense of justice, for he immediately commanded Daniel's accusers to be punished in the same way he had been; he restored Daniel to his former position; and he made a decree that Daniel's God should be honored throughout his entire kingdom. "In short," observed Robert Dick Wilson, "Darius the Mede was no fickle, vengeful, lustful, oriental tyrant; but a wide-awake, beneficial, and very human ruler."³

In conclusion, it may be noted that the Book of Daniel gives far more information concerning the personal background of Darius the Mede than of Belshazzar or even of Nebuchadnezzar. For he is the only monarch in the book whose age, parentage, and nationality are recorded. Although the Book of Daniel presents him, as well as Belshazzar, in terms that suggest subordination to a still higher human authority,⁴ it is evident that he had a far more powerful control over the kingdom of

²For the thoughts in this discussion, we are indebted to Robert Dick Wilson, *Studies in the Book of Daniel* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1917), pp. 256-257. Henceforth, we shall refer to this volume as SBD-1, to distinguish it from SBD-2, his *Studies in the Book of Daniel: Second Series* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938).

³SBD-1, p. 257.

⁴See below, pages 35ff., for a further discussion of this important point.

Babylonia than the profligate Belshazzar had. These considerations serve to emphasize even more clearly the necessity of taking seriously the problem of the historicity of Darius the Mede in the light of the events which surrounded the Fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.

Chapter Two

THE CUNEIFORM SOURCE MATERIAL CONCERNING GUBARU THE GOVERNOR OF BABYLON

Having examined the Biblical information concerning Darius the Mede, we must now face the task of discovering in extra-Biblical historical sources a person who might correspond to this important ruler in the Book of Daniel.

During the past century, archaeologists have unearthed a large number of Babylonian and Persian tablets, written in cuneiform script, which shed important light upon the history of the last half of the sixth century B.C. Among these are a number of tablets which make mention of a powerful governor named Gubaru, whom Cyrus the Great placed in charge of Babylonia after the collapse of Babylon in October, 539 B.C. Since this governor seems to correspond in many respects to Darius the Mede in the Book of Daniel, we must examine in some detail the information concerning Gubaru which is supplied by these cuneiform documents.

THE NABONIDUS CHRONICLE

This clay tablet has four columns of script on its two sides, although only parts of three columns are now legible. It was first published in 1882 by Theophilus G. Pinches,¹ and then by Sidney Smith in 1924.² The tablet gives a brief account of the activities of Nabonidus (Nabunaid), king of Babylon, and of the capture of Babylon by the troops of Cyrus. In spite of the brevity of the account, it constitutes the most complete cuneiform record of the Fall of Babylon extant. We give here Professor A. Leo Oppenheim's recent translation of that portion of the third column which refers to Gubaru:³

"In the month of Tashritu, when Cyrus attacked the army of Akkad in Opis on the Tigris, the inhabitants of Akkad revolted, but he

¹TSBA, VII (1882), 139ff.

²*Babylonian Historical Texts, Relating to the Downfall of Babylon* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1924), pp. 110 ff.

³J. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 305-307.

(Nabonidus) massacred the confused inhabitants. The 15th day, Sippar was seized without battle. Nabonidus fled. *The 16th day, Gobryas (Ugbaru), the governor of Gutium and the army of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle.* Afterwards Nabonidus was arrested in Babylon when he returned (there). Till the end of the month, the shield (-carrying) Gutians were staying within Esagila (but) nobody carried arms in Esagila and its (pertinent) buildings, the correct time (for a ceremony) was not missed. In the month of Arahshamnu, the 3rd day, Cyrus entered Babylon, green twigs were spread in front of him—the state of Peace (sulmu) was imposed upon the city. Cyrus sent greetings to all Babylon. *Gobryas [Gubaru], his governor, installed (sub-) governors in Babylon.* From the month of Kislimu to the month of Addaru, the gods of Akkad which Nabonidus had made come down to Babylon . . . returned to their sacred cities. *In the month of Arahshamnu, on the night of the 11th day, Gobryas [Ugbaru] died.* In the month of [Arahshamnu, the . . . th day, the wife of the king died. From the 27th day of Arahshamnu till the 3rd day of Nisanu a(n official) “weeping” was performed in Akkad, all the people (went around) with their hair disheveled. When, the 4th day, Cambyses, son of Cyrus, went to the temple. . . .”

Further discussion of this chronicle must be postponed until all of the cuneiform references to Gubaru have been cited. Through the kindness of Professor A. Leo Oppenheim, the writer was given access to the card files of the Assyrian Dictionary in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, where the following references to Gubaru may be found.

THE CONTENAU TEXTS⁴

- 142—(7th year of Cyrus)—“or any other goods by his hands shall be taken, a sin against Gubaru, prefect of Babylon and the Land across the River, he will commit.”
- 150—(2nd year of Cambyses)—“If Nabu-balatsu-sharri-iqbi, the official in charge of the rent on the Piqudu canal, sends an order concerning the urasu, and he does not present them, a sin against Gubaru, prefect of Babylon and the Land beyond the River he will commit.”
- 152—(2nd year of Cambyses)—“who at the command of Gubaru, governor of Babylon and the Land beyond the River, over the irrigating instruments of the Belit of Erech were appointed. . . .Whoever does

⁴G. Contenau, *Textes Cuneiformes, Tome, XIII: Contrats Néo-Babyloniens II, Achéménides et Séleucides* (Paris: Musée de du Louvre, 1929). A still more recent translation of these texts may be found in Ellen Whitley Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935).

not go to Babylon a sin against Gubaru, governor of Babylon and the Land beyond the River, will commit."

168—(5th year of Cambyses)—"If to another place they go and their gifts do not present, a sin against Gubaru, governor of Babylon (he will commit)."

THE POHL TEXTS⁵

43—(4th year of Cyrus)—"...the word of Gubaru is...before Gubaru with us..."

45—(4th year of Cyrus)—"before Gubarra the governor of Babylon and the land across the River with N., the official of Eanna...of going before Gubarra bear. If B. in Nisanu to Babylon should not go, A. and A., the guilt of sin against Gubarra, governor of Babylon and of the land across the River will bear."

46—(4th year of Cyrus)—"In Nisan 5th day, N., son of N. to Babylon before Gubaru, governor of Babylon and of the land across the River ...going to Babylon before Gubaru...in Nisan to Babylon should not go, N. and I. and I., the sin of guilt against Gubaru, governor of Babylon and the land across the River, will bear."

61—(8th year of Cyrus)—"...agent, messenger of Gubaru, governor of Babylon and the land across the river who for the inspection of sheep and cattle was sent, have sworn..."

THE TREMAYNE TEXTS⁶

56:5—(6th year of Cyrus)—"...the guilt of a sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and District beyond the river they shall bear."

70:5—(8th year of Cyrus)—"'With reference to the *sirke* of Innina of Erech, whom after the *amirtum* at the command of Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River, you and Adad-shar-usur, the *MU bit hiri*, the chief overseer of Gubaru, in the eighth year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of countries, brought and placed in charge and then went to Gubaru, whatever decree Gubaru imposed upon you concerning them, let us know and we will execute.' Gimillu replied as follows: 'Gubaru imposed no decree whatsoever upon me concerning them. As to the workmen whom I brought and showed you, let them perform work in Eanna until the time you have determined the decree of Gubaru concerning them.'"

92:4—(6th year of Cyrus)—"...and the guilt of sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and District beyond the River they shall bear."

127:12—(2nd year of Cambyses)—"If a sin in this he causes to be, the

⁵P. Alfred Pohl, *Analecta Orientalia*, Vol. VIII: *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden Aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen* (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1933).

⁶Arch Tremayne, *Records From Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses* (538-521 B.C.). (Yale Oriental Series; Babylonian Texts, Vol. VII [1925]). Concerning the Gimillu mentioned in 70:5, see A. T. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 72-73.

- guilt of a sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and District beyond the River he shall bear."
- 128:19—(2nd year of Cambyases)—"According to the a-ga-a of Gubaru...."
- 137:22—(3rd year of Cambyases)—"They shall bring (them) and in Babylon in the presence of Nabugu, the son of Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the district across the river, they shall cause them to stand."
- 160:12—(3rd year of Cambyases)—"...the guilt of a sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River, they shall bear."
- 168:8—(4th year of Cambyases)—"if he does not bring, the guilt of a sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the river he shall bear."
- 172:13—(4th year of Cambyases)—"the guilt of a sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River, they shall bear."
- 177:9—(5th year of Cambyases)—"the guilt of a sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River they shall bear."
- 178:16—(5th year of Cambyases)—"the guilt of a sin against Gubaru he shall bear."

THE DOUGHERTY TEXTS⁷

- 103:11—(Accession year of Cambyases)—"Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and Region beyond the River."
- 120:3,14—(2nd year of Cambyases)—"Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and Region beyond the River."

THE KEISER TEXT⁸

- 169:22—(Accession year of Cambyases)—"If the *sirke* for the watch of the city are summoned, (the guilt of) a sin against Gubaru, the Governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River, they will bear."

THE NIES AND KEISER TEXT⁹

- 114:15—(Accession year of Cambyases)—"Gubaru, the governor of Babylon."

⁷Raymond P. Dougherty, *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. II. Archives From Erech: Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933).

⁸Clarence Elwood Keiser, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. Vol. I—Letters and Contracts From Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917).

⁹James B. Nies and Clarence E. Keiser, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Vol. II—Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920).

THE STRASSMAIER TEXT¹⁰

96:3,4,8—(1st year of Cambyses)—“...which Gubaru...the overseer of the granary of Gubaru...the overseer of the granary of Gubaru...”

THE CLAY TEXT¹¹

80:13,14,15—(1st year of Cambyses)—“the canal of Gubaru...Si-lla-ja servant of Gubaru...Gubaru...”

THE PINCHES TEXT¹²

“At the end of Marcheswan, year 4th of Cambyses, King of Babylon, king of lands, Ardia, son of Nabu-bani-shi, descendant of Remut-Ea, who is over the date-delivery of Ishtar of Erech, will take five talents of early fruit, and in the palace of the king which above Eanna lies, to Nabu-ahaidina, the king's captain, lord of the fund of Eanna will give. *If he does not bring (it), the sin of Gubaru, governor of Babylon, he will commit.* Besides the balances which are against them, a payment of 100 gidimu he shall give. Witnesses:...Erech, month Marcheswan, day 9th, year 4th, Cambyses, King of Babylon, King of the lands.”

THE SCHEIL TEXT¹³

This text consists of a letter from Erech in which reference is made to soldiers who are on the “list” or “writing board” (*lī'ū*) of Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar.¹⁴ The letter further indicates that the captain was anxious that the depleted ranks of these soldiers should not become known to Gubaru. Pere Scheil concluded that Gubaru had thus been in power for over twenty years before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. But Albert T. Clay has given conclusive evidence to show that this could not have been the case, and concludes his argument as follows:

These facts show that the letter published by Scheil was written in the reign of Cyrus, when Gobryas was governor of Babylon; and also

¹⁰J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon* (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890).

¹¹Albert T. Clay, *Legal and Commercial Transactions Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (Philadelphia: Dept. of Archaeology, U. of Penn., 1908).

¹²Theophilus G. Pinches, “Two Late Tablets of Historical Interest,” *PSBA*, XXXVIII (1916), 27-34. Pinches comments on this text: “...the important fact that the dates contracted for were to be delivered at the royal palace at Erech, and that, if this were not done, a sin was committed, not against Cambyses the king, but against Gobryas, the governor of Babylon, has an importance which will not be overlooked” (p. 33).

¹³V. Scheil, “Le Gobryas de la Cyropédie et les Textes Cuneiformes,” *RAAO*, XI, 1 (1914), 165-174.

¹⁴Cf. D. J. Wiseman, “Assyrian Writing-Boards,” *Iraq*, XVII, 1 (1955), 3-13.

that, until other evidence is obtained, we can only conclude that the activity of Gobryas in Babylon began with the reign of Cyrus. It would seem also from the references to soldiers as belonging to rolls of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus during the reign of Cyrus that this was a method of classification of men in the army at that time.¹⁵

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION¹⁶

"Saith Darius the King: these are the men who were there at the time when I slew Gaumata the Magian who called himself Smerdis; at that time these men cooperated as my followers: Intaphernes by name, son of Vayaspāra, a Persian; Otanes by name, son of Thukhra, a Persian, *Gobryas by name, son of Mardonius, a Persian* (Gaubaruva : nāma : Marduniyahyā : puca : Pārsa); Hydarnes by name...."

This important inscription was made at the command of Darius Hystaspes in the fifth year of his reign, or 516 B.C. However, it is quite impossible to identify this "Gobryas [Gaubaruva]...son of Mardonius, a Persian" with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon, for the Gaubaruva of the Behistun Inscription comes too late. Olmstead points out that

in the revolts the satrap Gobryas had disappeared. By March 21, 520, we find a new satrap in Babylonia: Hystanes, as the Greeks called him, but to the natives he was known as Ushtani, governor of Babylon and of Across the River.¹⁷

Olmstead further clarifies the distinction between these two names by listing them separately in his Index.¹⁸

We may now list in chronological order the various cuneiform references to Gubaru, the Governor of Babylon and the Region beyond the River:

539 B.C., October 29 (3rd day of Marcheswan, Accession Year of Cyrus)
—Nabonidus Chronicle, Col. III, Line 20.

535/534 B.C. (4th Year of Cyrus)—Pohl 43, 45, 46.

533/532 B.C. (6th Year of Cyrus)—Tremayne 56:5, 92:4.

¹⁵Albert T. Clay, "Gobryas, Governor of Babylonia," *JAOS*, XLI (1921), 466-467. It is unfortunate that even Olmstead (*op. cit.*, p. 45) adopted the premature conclusions of Scheil on this point: "One of the outstanding generals of Nebuchadnezzar, Gobryas (Gubaru) by name, had been appointed governor of Gutium (as the Babylonians continued to describe Elam). Now he revolted to Cyrus...."

¹⁶Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (2nd ed. rev.; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), p. 132. Behistun Inscription, Paragraph 68 (column 4, lines 80-86).

¹⁷Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 545.

- 532/531 B.C. (7th Year of Cyrus) — Contenau 142.
- 531/530 B.C. (8th Year of Cyrus) — Tremayne 70:5, Pohl 61.
- 530/529 B.C. (Accession Year of Cambyses) — Dougherty 103:11; Keiser 169:22; Nies & Keiser 114:15.
- 529/528 B.C. (1st Year of Cambyses) — Strassmaier 96:3,4,8; Clay 20:13, 14,15.
- 528/527 B.C. (2nd Year of Cambyses) — Contenau 150, 152; Dougherty 120:3,14; Tremayne 127:12, 128:19.
- 527/526 B.C. (3rd Year of Cambyses) — Tremayne 137:22, 160:12.
- 526/525 B.C. (4th Year of Cambyses) — Tremayne 168:8, 172:13; Pinches Text.
- 525/524 B.C. (5th Year of Cambyses) — Tremayne 177:9, 178:16; Contenau 168.

Chapter Three

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CUNEIFORM REFERENCES TO GUBARU THE GOVERNOR OF BABYLON

It will be recalled that the name "Gobryas" appeared in three different places in Oppenheim's translation of the Nabonidus Chronicle. We quote here again those key lines, together with Dougherty's transliteration of the text:¹

(line 15) — "The 16th day, *Gobryas*, the governor of Gutium and the army of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle."

Transliteration: "Umu 16^[Kam] mUg(?) -ba -ru amêl pahât mâtGu -ti -um u ummanâte^{mes} mKu -ras ba -la sal -tum ana Bâbili^{ki} êrubûni."

(lines 19 & 20) — "Cyrus sent greetings to all Babylon. *Gobryas*, his governor, installed (sub-)governors in Babylon."

Transliteration: "mKu -ras sú -lum ana Bâbili^{ki} gab -bi -su qi -bi mGu -ba -ru amêl pahâtu -su amêl pahâti^{mes} ina Bâbili^{ki} ip -te -qid."

(line 22) — "In the month of Arahshamnu, on the night of the 11th day, *Gobryas* died."

Transliteration: "arah Arahsamnu musi ûmu 11^{Kam} mUg -ba -ru BAD."

Now it is very important to observe that there are *two different names* in the Nabonidus Chronicle, both of which have been translated as "Gobryas" by Professor Oppenheim. In line 15, it was "*Ugbaru* the governor of Gutium" that entered Babylon on the 16th day (of Tishri — October 12).² And it was this same *Ugbaru* whose death is recorded as having occurred on the 11th of Arahshamnu (November 6), according to line 22. But the governor of Cyrus who installed governors in Babylon after the fall of the city was *Gubaru*, not *Ugbaru*.

This distinction has generally been obscured by translators and historians; but as we shall point out later in the chapter, it is a distinction

¹Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 170-172. The reason for the (?) after "Ug" in Dougherty's transliteration of line 15 is, as Sidney Smith points out (*Babylonian Historical Texts, Relating to the Downfall of Babylon*, p. 121), that "this sign has not been completed by the scribe, possibly because he could not see the end of it in the original." But as Pinches observed seventy-five years ago (*TSBA*, VII, 174), it is definitely not the same sign as the "Gu" in "Gu-ba-ru" (line 20). Oppenheim transliterates "Ugbaru" in line 15 without question, and Sidney Smith does not question the "Ugbaru" reading for line 22.

²See Appendix II.

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that has large significance for the identification of Darius the Mede in the Book of Daniel. The cuneiform signs for "Ug" (in Ug-ba-ru) and "Gu" (in Gu-ba-ru) are quite different, and could not possibly have been confused by the Persian scribe whose text we now possess. Donald J. Wiseman of the British Museum recently checked the lines of the original Nabonidus Chronicle that include these names, by special request, and wrote in reply: "The Nabonidus Chronicle certainly writes Ugbaru in Col. III, Line 22, and Gubaru in Col. III, Line 20."³

Sidney Smith, whose publication of the Nabonidus Chronicle is the most up-to-date, clearly saw this distinction between Ugbaru and Gubaru. This is his observation concerning the name Gubaru as it appears in Column III, Line 20:

It is possible that the chronicler intended to distinguish Ugbaru of Gutium from Gubaru, whom Cyrus appointed governor of Akkad and Ebir nari, that Ugbaru is the Gobryas of Xenophon, and Gubaru is identical with the governor of southern Babylonia in the document translated by Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XI, 165ff., and with the governor of Akkad and Ebir nari who is frequently mentioned on business documents of the time of Cyrus and Cambyses.⁴

Having expressed this possible solution to the problem, which we believe to be the correct one, Smith goes on to give an alternate theory, which we believe to be incorrect:

On the other hand it is possible that the chronicler intended one and the same person by Ugbaru and Gubaru, the Gobryas of Xenophon, that he was appointed governor by Cyrus, but died on the night of the 10-11th Marcheswan, and was succeeded by another Gubaru, not his son, since Xenophon expressly states that his only son had been murdered, *Cyropoedia*, VI, 4, 3-4.⁵

Our reasons for rejecting the second hypothesis will soon become apparent.

Not only have many scholars ignored the distinction between Ugbaru and Gubaru, but they have also overlooked the fact that *Ugbaru died* just three weeks after he had conquered Babylon. One needs only to check the various commentaries on the Book of Daniel and the technical works which discuss the problem of Darius the Mede to realize how great is the confusion on this important point.⁶

³Letter from Donald J. Wiseman dated April 8, 1957.

⁴Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁵*Loc. cit.*

⁶When the Nabonidus Chronicle was first published by Theophilus G. Pinches in *TSBA*, VII, (1882), 139ff., lines 22 and 23 of the 3rd column were mis-translated as follows: "In the month of Marcheswan on the night of the 11th day

But here again, there can be little doubt that the Nabonidus Chronicle actually reads: "Ugbaru *died*." The correct transliteration of the logogram BAD is *imûtu*, and *imûtu* is the preterite of *mātu*, "to die."⁷ This reading has been confirmed by Dougherty⁸, Oppenheim⁹, and Wiseman.¹⁰

This leads us to the conclusion that the *Gubaru*, Governor of Babylon and beyond the River, who is mentioned in cuneiform documents dated in the fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of Cyrus (535, 533, 532, and 531 B.C.), and in the accession year and second, third, fourth, and fifth years of Cambyses (530, 528, 527, 526, and 525 B.C.), is the same person as the *Gubaru* of the Nabonidus Chronicle, Column III, Line 20, who is spoken of as the governor of Cyrus that appointed governors in Babylon on the 3rd of Marcheswan (October 29, 539 B.C.). Otherwise, we would have two men of the same name, holding the same high office in the same province and under the same emperor (Cyrus) within four years of each other—a theory that is just as improbable as it is unnecessary to maintain.

But if these various cuneiform documents speak of *the same Gubaru*, the hypothesis that it was Gubaru the Governor of Cyrus who died on the night of the 11th of Marcheswan (November 6, 539 B.C.) utterly collapses. The one who died that night must have been a different

Ugbaru went against . . . and the son (?) of the king died." This wrong translation led numerous scholars to assume that Ugbaru led the final assault which resulted in the death of Belshazzar. Furthermore, it obscured the distinction between Ugbaru and Gubaru by overlooking the fact that it was Ugbaru who died on the 11th of Marcheswan. Examples of this confusion may be found in C. J. Ball, *Light From the East* (London, 1899); J. Dyneley Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (New York, 1899), p. 103; Charles H. H. Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies* (London, 1906), p. 129; Robert Dick Wilson, *SBD-1*, pp. 133-134; Charles Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel* (London, 1923), pp. 127-130; S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1923), p. 499; and Walther Schwenzner, "Gobryas," *Klio*, XVIII (1923), p. 42. Since these works were published before the appearance of Sidney Smith's new translation in 1924, their confusion on this point is understandable. But it is difficult to see how H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, pp. 20-21, could have rejected Sidney Smith's reading in favor of the older reading. Furthermore, Rowley makes the mistake of supposing that Dougherty was in doubt as to whether or not Gobryas died on the night of the 11th of Marcheswan (*ibid.*, p. 20, note 7).

⁷See René Labat, *Manuel D'Épigraphie Akkadienne* (Paris, 1948), p. 67; and P. Anton Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon, II Teil: Vollständige Ideogramm-Sammlung, Band I* (Rome, 1929), p. 136.

⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 172, note 561.

⁹In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. by J. Pritchard, p. 306.

¹⁰In a letter dated April 8, 1957, Wiseman states: "The ideogram of 'died' in col. iii, line 22, is clearly BAD."

person from Gubaru; and the Nabonidus Chronicle is consistent with the other cuneiform texts by giving him a different name: *Ugbaru*. This in turn proves that *Gubaru* the Governor of Babylon was not the general who took the city on the 16th of Tishri (October 12, 539 B.C.), and who was given the title, Governor of Gutium. For the *Ugbaru*, Governor of Gutium, who conquered Babylon on October 12 was the same *Ugbaru* who died on the night of November 6, three weeks later. And *Gubaru*, the governor under Cyrus who appointed governors in Babylon on October 29, was not the general who conquered the city on October 12. Neither did he die on November 6 of that same year, but rather lived on as Governor of Babylon and the Region beyond the River for at least fourteen years.

By making this clear distinction between *Ugbaru* the Governor of Gutium and *Gubaru* the Governor of Babylon we avoid two erroneous assumptions. The first is that the *Gubaru* of the Nabonidus Chronicle was in power for only a short time, until his death on November 6, 539 B.C. Such an assumption, of course, would effectively eliminate the possibility of identifying this *Gubaru* with Darius the Mede in the Book of Daniel, whose reign must have been much longer than this.¹¹

The second erroneous assumption that may be avoided by this distinction is that *Gubaru* the Governor of Babylon had been at one time the Governor of Gutium. Those who have defended the identification of *Gubaru* with Darius the Mede, and who at the same time have not been careful to distinguish *Ugbaru* from *Gubaru* in the Nabonidus Chronicle, have gone to great lengths to show that Gutium was near Media and that *Gubaru* could thus have been a Mede.¹² But the location of this sixth century B.C. Gutium is still quite uncertain, and in any case it was most likely *not* in Media. Xenophon (c. 434-355 B.C.) spoke of a "Gobryas" who was an Assyrian (i.e., Babylonian) prince that revolted to Cyrus with the district he governed (*Cyropaedia*, IV:6:1-2).¹³ Xenophon did not intend his *Cyropaedia* to be an accurate history of the career of Cyrus, but only an historical novel. Nevertheless, his "Gobryas" must have been a reflection of some historical personage. Could it have been Darius the Mede? Hardly so, if Xenophon depicts his "Gobryas" as

¹¹Three weeks (Oct. 12 to Nov. 6) would hardly have been enough time for Darius the Mede to set up his entire administration, for the officials to become jealous of Daniel, for their clever plot to mature, and for both the decrees to be issued. See Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹²Cf. Wilson, SBD-1, pp. 141, 201; and H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, p. 244.

¹³See Appendix IV for quotations from the *Cyropaedia*.

an Assyrian prince who brought his province over to Cyrus. But it is possible that Xenophon was alluding to Ugbaru, the Governor of Gutium and conqueror of Babylon. Thus, by making a clear distinction between Gubaru and Ugbaru, and identifying Darius the Mede with Gubaru, we avoid the necessity of showing that the Governor of Gutium could have been a Mede.

Not only so, but additional important insights may be gained by assuming that the Gubaru of the Nabonidus Chronicle and the Gubaru of the other cuneiform texts of that era are the same person. In the first place, we learn that Gubaru, who was the Governor of Babylonia on the very day that Cyrus first set foot in the conquered Babylon (October 29—seventeen days after its conquest by Ugbaru), continued in that position throughout the rest of Cyrus' reign and through more than half of the subsequent reign of Cambyses the son of Cyrus. The great prominence given to Darius the Mede in the Book of Daniel is more readily explained if we assume his identification with a Gubaru whose reign extended not only over a period of three weeks, or even a year, but of *fourteen years* (539-525 B.C.).

Secondly, we learn that the Gubaru who appears in the Nabonidus Chronicle (539 B.C.) was the Gubaru *whose name was a final warning to criminals* throughout the entire region of the Fertile Crescent from at least 535 to 525 B.C. With monotonous regularity the cuneiform tablets (Chapter II) of that decade warned against the possibility of bearing "the guilt of a sin against Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River." It is highly significant that neither Cyrus nor Cambyses are mentioned in any cuneiform texts as being the final and supreme authorities in Babylonia against whom crimes would be committed. Only Gubaru held such a preeminent legal position in the vast and populous areas of Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.

Walter Schwenzner's comments on the significance of Col. iii, Line 20 in the Nabonidus Chronicle are important in this connection:

The meaning of this important, but hitherto misunderstood sentence, is now completely clear on the basis of the extensively discussed text; it contains the installation of Gubaru as *amēlpīhat Bābili ū mātEbir nāri* ("governor of Babylon and the region beyond the River"), thus as the governor of two administrative regions: the governorship of Babylon, which was composed of Sumer and Akkad, with the addition also of those parts of Assyria proper which had fallen to the Medes through the partitioning of the Assyrian Empire, and to which belonged also the central Mesopotamian connecting regions to the West as far as the Euphrates; and the governorship of all the regions lying beyond the Euphrates, which comprised Syria, Phoenicia, and Pales-

tine up to the border of Egypt (consequently the ninth and fifth ? satrapies in the satrapy-list of Herodotus III, 91 and 92).¹⁴

Similarly, Professor A. T. Olmstead emphasized the remarkable extent of Gubaru's powers as Governor of Babylon:

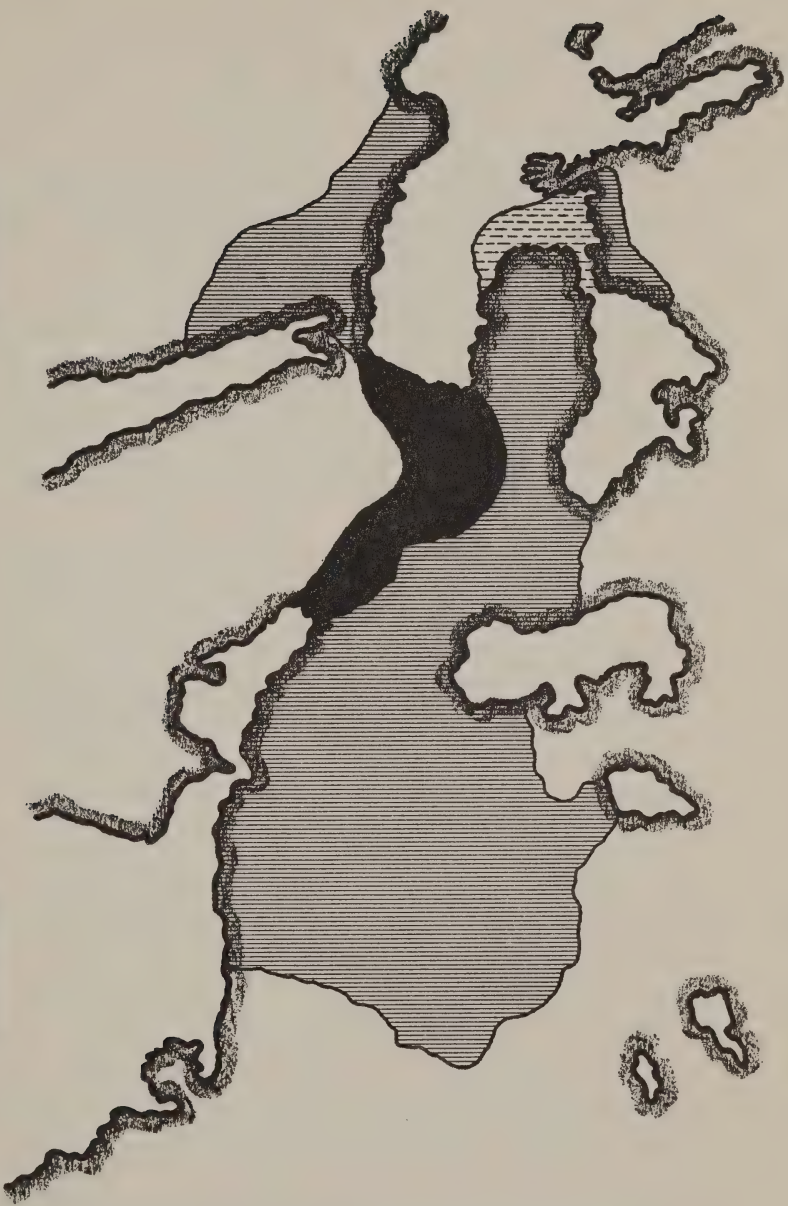
In his dealings with the Babylonian subjects, Cyrus was "king of Babylon, king of lands." ... *But it was Gobryas the satrap who represented the royal authority after the king's departure...*

While there was a short-lived attempt to organize the Nabataean Arabs in a satrapy under the name "Arabaya," Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine were joined to Babylonia in one huge satrapy. To the satrap Gobryas the province was officially "Babirush"; to the natives it was "Babylon and Ebir-nari," the Assyrian name for the territory "Across the River" (by which they meant the Euphrates). *Over this whole vast stretch of fertile territory, Gobryas ruled almost as an independent monarch.*¹⁵

It is our conviction that Gubaru the Governor of Babylon and the Region beyond the River appears in the Book of Daniel as Darius the Mede, the monarch who took charge of the Chaldean kingdom immediately following the death of Belshazzar and who appointed satraps and presidents (including Daniel) to assist him in the governing of this extensive territory with its many peoples. We believe that this identification is the only one that satisfactorily harmonizes the various lines of evidence which are found in the Book of Daniel and in the contemporary cuneiform records. Additional arguments in support of this view will be presented in the following chapters as we seek to answer the various objections that have been brought against the Gubaru identification, and as we attempt to refute the alternate hypotheses that are now in vogue.

¹⁴*Klio*, XVIII, 236-238. This is a translation of Schwenzner's statement, which reads as follows: "Der Sinn dieses wichtigen, bisher aber missverstandenen Satzes ist jetzt auf Grund der eingangs behandelten Texte vollkommen klar; er enthält die Einsetzung Gubarus zum *amêlpihat Bâbili û mâtEbir nari*, also zum Statthalter zweier Verwaltungsgebiete, der Statthalterschaft von Babylon, die von Sumer und Akkad unter Hinzufügung auch derjenigen Teile des eigentlichen Assyriens gebildet wurde, die bei der Aufteilung des Assyrischen Reiches den Medern zugefallen waren, und zu der auch das mittelmesopotamische Verbindungsland mit dem Westen bis an den Euphrat gehörte, und der Statthalterschaft aller jenseits des Euphrats gelegenen Gebiete, die Syrien, Phönikien und Palästina bis zur Grenze gegen Ägypten umfasste (also der Statthalterschaften IX und X in dem Satrapienverzeichnis Herodots III 91 u. 92)."

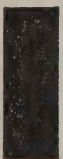
¹⁵Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 71 and 56.



The Persian Empire under Cyrus
and Cambyses



The great satrapy of "Babylon and
the Region beyond the River" ruled
by Gubaru (Darius the Mede)



Chapter Four

OBJECTIONS TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF GUBARU THE GOVERNOR OF BABYLON WITH DARIUS THE MEDE

In his heavily documented volume entitled, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, Professor H. H. Rowley devotes an entire chapter to the subject: "Darius the Mede is Not Gobryas." Since his arguments against this identification have been considered to be very weighty,¹ it is necessary that we examine them carefully in the light of the Biblical and cuneiform material that has just been presented.

It must be realized at the very outset, however, that Professor Rowley's concept of "Gobryas" differs in several important respects from our concept of "Gubaru." When he writes of "Gobryas," he has in mind not only a combination of the "Gubaru" and "Ugbaru" in cuneiform texts, but also the "Gobryas" of Herodotus and Xenophon and the "Gaubaruva, son of Mardonius a Persian" in the Behistun Inscription! Doubtless by gathering all of these diverse personages into the name "Gobryas," one could demonstrate beyond question that Darius the Mede was not "Gobryas." But since such a composite character never existed in history, we are not concerned about proving that he was Darius the Mede.

Our procedure in this chapter will be to present in summary form Professor Rowley's major objections to the Gubaru identification, each of these in turn being followed by our answer.

FIRST OBJECTION

Neither the Greek nor the cuneiform records mention anything that can be connected with the name Darius, but uniformly employ Gobryas or Gubaru (Ugbaru). He could not have been given the official honorific

¹Edward J. Young, in *The Prophecy of Daniel*, pp. 299-300, wrote: "Rowley . . . has shown that in all probability Darius was not Gobryas." Young concluded that "as yet it has been impossible to identify this Darius." In a recent communication to the present writer (May 27, 1958), after reading the manuscript, Dr. Young writes: "I personally incline toward your solution."

title Darius upon being installed vice-king in Babylon, for in that case he would have been referred to in the cuneiform texts by this title.²

Answer. It is true that neither Greek nor cuneiform sources mention the name Darius in connection with the governor of Babylon under Cyrus. But this proves nothing as far as the Greek sources are concerned, for none of them before the time of Christ, including Herodotus, Xenophon, Megasthenes, Berossus, and Alexander Polyhistor, even mention the name of *Belshazzar*;³ and Herodotus and Xenophon apparently did not remember the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*!⁴ As we have pointed out previously (p. 23), the Gobryas of Xenophon was probably Ugbaru, not Gubaru; and the Gobryas of Herodotus must have been the Gaubaruva of the Behistun Inscription, not Gubaru.⁵

The argument that the Governor of Babylon under Cyrus could not have been Darius the Mede because the cuneiform texts uniformly refer to him as Gubaru and not as Darius is more serious, but not conclusive. In discussing this problem, William F. Albright reached the following conclusions:

It seems to me highly probable that Gobryas did actually assume the royal dignity, along with the name "Darius," perhaps an old Iranian royal title, while Cyrus was absent on an Eastern campaign.... After the cuneiform elucidation of the Belshazzar mystery, showing that the latter was long coregent with his father, the vindication of Darius the Mede for history was to be expected...we may safely expect the Babylonian Jewish author to be acquainted with the main facts of neo-Babylonian history.⁶

In this connection, we do well to keep in mind the case of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727). Before he usurped the throne of Assyria, he was known as Pul or Pulu; but even after he had assumed the ancient royal title of Tiglathpileser (Tukulti-apil-esharra—"my trust is the son of Esharra"), he was known by his former name among certain subject peoples. For example, he continued to be known as Pulu in Babylonia after conquering that country in 729 B.C.; and the author of the Book of Kings used the names Pul and Tiglathpileser interchangeably (II Kings 20:19,29; cf. I Chron. 5:26).⁷

²Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, pp. 21-22.

³Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 11-12, 200.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 11, 32.

⁵*The Persian Wars*, III, 70. Cf. above, p. 20.

⁶W. F. Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler," *JBL*, XL (1921), 112n.

⁷Jack Finegan, *Light From the Ancient Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 173.

From this, and from other examples that might be cited,⁸ we see that Gubaru could have been given the honorific title "Darius" upon being installed vice-king in Babylon, even though the ancient contract tablets that refer to him (beginning four years after the Fall of Babylon, in 535/534 B.C.) reverted back to his original name "Gubaru."

SECOND OBJECTION

There is no evidence that Gobryas was the son of Ahasuerus. The Gobryas of the Behistun inscription is stated to be the son of Mardonius a Persian. If this Gobryas is not the same person, then we have no record of who his father was in secular texts.⁹

Answer. It has already been shown that Gaubaruva of the Behistun Inscription could not have been the same as Gubaru the Governor of Babylon (p. 15). But the mere fact that no cuneiform text makes mention of the father of Gubaru is no argument against Ahasuerus (Xerxes) being his father as the Book of Daniel states (Dan. 9:1); for the cuneiform text which first introduces us to Gubaru at the time of the Fall of Babylon (the Nabonidus Chronicle) is very brief in its statements, most details being left to the imagination. Dougherty observes:

Each prominent incident in the unfolding of the drama of a dynasty's collapse is alluded to very briefly. The cuneiform scribe was handicapped by his effort to place the annals of Nabonidus' reign and the story of the victorious Persian invasion upon a single clay tablet [only four inches high and three inches wide!]. It is very likely that this procedure resulted in the omission of much that would be of extreme interest to the modern historian.¹⁰

It is too much to expect that the Nabonidus Chronicle would mention the name of Nabonidus' mother (although her death in the ninth year of Nabonidus is recorded in Column ii), or the name of Cyrus' father, or the name of Ugbaru's father, or even the name of Belshazzar. Certainly the fact that no cuneiform text known to us mentions the name of Gubaru's father is no evidence that his father could not have been Ahasuerus! Arguments of this kind tend to weaken rather than strengthen Rowley's position.¹¹

⁸Cf. Wilson, *SBD-1*, pp. 138-139.

⁹Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰Dougherty, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

¹¹Wilson, *SBD-1*, pp. 230-232, shows that Ahasuerus could have been a Median name.

THIRD OBJECTION

There is no evidence that Gobryas was a Mede. Xenophon tells us that the Gobryas of his narrative was an Assyrian, by which we should probably understand a Babylonian. Herodotus, on the contrary, represents Gobryas as a Persian. The Gobryas of the Behistun Inscription is a Persian. Of a Median Gobryas there is no trace anywhere.¹²

Answer. Once again, Professor Rowley's objection to the identification of Darius the Mede with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon is based upon statements in Xenophon, Herodotus, and the Behistun Inscription, not one of which mentions Gubaru the Governor of Babylon. And thus, once again, we are led to an inconclusive *argumentum e silentio*.

But in direct support of the possibility of Gubaru being a Mede is the historical analogy of Medes receiving high administrative and military positions during the early years of the Achaemenid Persian Empire. A. T. Olmstead's observations on this point are worth quoting here:

Media ceased to be an independent nation and became the first satrapy, Mada. Nevertheless, the close relationship between Persians and Medes was never forgotten. Plundered Ecbatana remained a favorite royal residence. *Medes were honored equally with Persians; they were employed in high office and were chosen to lead Persian armies.* Foreigners spoke regularly of the Medes and Persians; when they used the single term, it was "the Mede."¹³

It is a well-known fact that the Medes and Persians were closely related, both racially and linguistically, and were united under Cyrus in the conquest of Babylon. As Wilson has pointed out, "Harpagus a Mede was made by Cyrus governor of Lydia; Datis a Mede led the armies of Darius against the rebels in Sagartia."¹⁴ Therefore, the nationality which the Book of Daniel ascribes to Darius is definitely in agreement with what we know of the early Medo-Persian history, and is not contradicted by any Greek or cuneiform records.

FOURTH OBJECTION

There is no evidence that Gobryas bore the title of king. Since Cambyses occupied the position of subordinate king of Babylon during the first year of Cyrus, there is no room for Gobryas in that position.

¹²Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹³Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire*, p. 37. Cf. J. D. Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, p. 116.

¹⁴Wilson, *SBD-1*, p. 137n; cf. p. 154.

For neither before nor during the brief administration of Cambyses can Gobryas be fitted in.

(1) Gobryas was not king of Babylon before Cambyses. In the accession year of Cyrus, documents are dated by the reign of Cyrus alone; in his first year the names of Cambyses and Cyrus both appear. But if Gobryas had held the position in the accession-year which Cambyses held in the following year, his name should have appeared beside that of Cyrus on the contract tablets, just as that of Cambyses does in the following year.

(2) Gobryas was not king of Babylonia while Cambyses was king of Babylon. Clearly Darius was not a *subordinate* of Cambyses, or he could not have made the decree with which he is credited in the book of Daniel. Equally clearly he was not joint under-king of Babylon *beside* Cambyses. For not only would the same consideration debar that view, but the non-mention of his name on the contract tablets also. Equally certainly he was not *over* Cambyses, exercising the rule over the province of Babylonia, while Cambyses ruled over the city of Babylon. For again he would not have been ignored in the cuneiform texts, but would have been associated with Cyrus and Cambyses in them.

(3) The author of the Book of Daniel assumed that Darius was truly a king, for he dates events by the years of his reign, and represents him as exercising sovereign prerogatives, and issuing royal edicts. If Darius were of lesser rank than king, how could he venture to issue a decree that for thirty days no one might ask any petition of god or man, save of himself? If Gobryas was the subordinate of Cambyses, then Daniel would have been the subordinate of the subordinate of a subordinate, thus contradicting the implications of the sixth chapter of Daniel.¹⁵

Answer. This is obviously Professor Rowley's strongest argument against the identification of Darius the Mede with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon.¹⁶ In order to answer it, we shall attempt to show (1) that Gubaru was a *de facto* king, even though he did not belong to the royal house of the Achaemenids; and (2) that the author of the Book of Daniel makes ample allowance for the subordination of Darius the Mede to a still higher human power.

In the first place, we believe that there is sufficient evidence available to warrant the conclusion that Gubaru was a king, even though he did

¹⁵ Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-28. For the sake of convenience, we have combined two of his arguments into this one.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 24. "This is the insuperable difficulty with which the theory has to contend, compared with which the previous ones are slight."

not belong to the royal house of the Achaemenids. Edward J. Young calls our attention to these facts:

In the Behistun inscription Darius (i.e. Hystaspes) speaks of the kings who had rebelled against him, and the 9 kings whom he took captive (see Col. IV, par. 2,3). These were men who had ruled over districts which already belonged to Darius. Among these were some who in declaring their independency had used expressions such as, "I am the king of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares." In other words they apparently desired to be king, not merely in a subordinate, but in an independent sense. At any rate, this inscription does permit us to see that the word king might be used of one who had been a subordinate ruler.¹⁷

Robert Dick Wilson points to Hystaspes himself, the father of Darius Hystaspes, as being such a sub-king. In the Behistun Inscription (Col. I, 3-4), Darius counts his father as a king; and yet according to Col. II, 16, and Col. III, 1, he was apparently a governor of Parthia.¹⁸ Now if Darius Hystaspes himself could refer to the governors of various districts within the Persian Empire as *kings*, how much more might this title have been applied, popularly and even officially, to Gubaru the Governor of Babylon and the Region beyond the River. For Gubaru was no ordinary governor; his domain, extending over all of Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, was by far the most populous and wealthy in the entire Persian Empire.

It will be recalled that the Nabonidus Chronicle refers to Gubaru as a *pihatu* (district-governor), and says that he appointed *pihati* (district-governors) in Babylon. On the other hand, the Book of Daniel informs us that Darius the Mede, called "king" (Aramaic: *malka*) twenty-eight times in the sixth chapter, set over the kingdom 120 "satraps." After carefully comparing these two statements, some scholars have insisted that the *malka* of the sixth chapter of Daniel (Darius the Mede) who ruled over 120 "satraps" cannot be compared with Gubaru, who was merely a *pihatu* that appointed other *pihati*.

But what is the true significance of the Babylonian term *pihatu*? And how does it compare to the Persian word *khshatrapava* (satrap)? Could a *pihatu* of Babylonia have had a hundred and twenty "satraps" in his administration? Did a *pihatu* ever exercise kingly authority? Could the Aramaic word *malka* be considered a fair translation of the Babylonian word *pihatu*?

¹⁷Young, *op. cit.*, p. 300, note 11.

¹⁸Wilson, *PTR*, XX (1922), 201. Cf. Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Robert Dick Wilson (1856-1930), who spent over half a century studying these and similar problems, and who succeeded in mastering more than a score of ancient languages in the process, has given us the results of his investigations in the first volume of his *Studies in the Book of Daniel*. He demonstrated that the Persian word *khshatrapava* (satrap) means simply a "protector of a district or country" and that while a satrapy may have been a large province, it may also have contained no more than thirty men and women (pp. 175-178). Furthermore, the Babylonian equivalent of "satrap" was *pihatu* (Behistun Inscription 45), "so that writing in Persian we would say that Gobryas the satrap of the *dahyaush* of Babylon under Cyrus appointed under himself other satraps of the *dahyava*, or sub-divisions of his satrapy" (p. 177n.). The *pihatu*s were the same as the *shaknu*s; and they and their equivalent the satraps exercised all of the prerogatives of kings (pp. 203-208), many of the subordinate governors actually being called kings by the Assyrians and Persians (pp. 203-206). There was no native Aramaic or Hebrew term to denote exactly the Persian "satrap" or the Assyrio-Babylonian *shaknu* or *pihatu*; consequently the foreign words were sometimes used and sometimes the best native equivalent *melek* or *malka* was used to denote the idea involved in "satrap" (pp. 83-95, 181). The title "king of *shaknu*s or *pihatu*s" was never found in the Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian records; but always we read "king of kings" or "lord of kings."¹⁹ Applying these facts to the particular case of Gobryas (Gubaru) and Darius the Mede, Wilson writes:

Of course, I have always admitted that Gobryas is not called king in the *Babylonian* language, where *sharru* would be the word. My claim has been that in the pure Aramaic, where neither *sharru* nor *pihatu* is found, the word *malka* would be the best equivalent native title, just as *khshatrapava* (satrap) would have been in native Persian. It is admitted that the author of *Daniel* might have denoted the governor of Babylon by one of the foreign titles (*sagan*, *pahat*, or satrap), all of which he uses elsewhere in his work; but this is not saying that these words are Aramaic, or that he could not have used the best Hebrew or Aramaic equivalents, *melek* or *malka*, to denote the same official. Especially is this true when we consider that Gobryas was not an ordinary *pihatu*, but that... as the *pihatu* of Cyrus he appointed other *pihatu*s in Babylon, thus exercising the prerogatives of a king. Besides, in that time of transition, when Babylon had just passed from the rule of the Chaldeans to that of the Persians, it is probable that the natives would designate the successor of

¹⁹This summary of Wilson's conclusions is found in PTR, XX (1922), 195-196.

Belshazzar by the same title that Belshazzar himself had enjoyed. It must be remembered also that the question is not whether the author of Daniel may have called a sub-king of Babylon a *pihatu*, but whether he may have called a *pihatu* of Babylon a *melek* or *malka*.²⁰

Thus, there is nothing in the ancient inscriptions of the Near East that would prevent us from saying, with perfect accuracy, that Gubaru was Cyrus' *malka* over the province of Babylonia, and that he appointed "satraps" throughout the province.

The situation which prevailed in Babylon for a period of several months after the fall of the city to the Medo-Persian army permits us to assume that Gubaru was *de facto* king of Babylon. Cyrus did not remain long in Babylon after its capture in the fall of 539 B.C. "Leaving the more prosaic details of satrapal organization to Gobryas, toward the end of his accession year Cyrus retired from Babylon and returned to Ecbatana. . . . But it was Gobryas the satrap who represented the royal authority after the king's departure."²¹

After Cyrus left for Ecbatana, Gubaru was the sole ruler of Babylonia. In this capacity, could he not have been rightly called "king" by his subordinates? Would it not have been in perfect accord with the plans and purposes of Cyrus to have permitted Gubaru to possess the powers and honors and dignities which would best have enabled him to rule with efficiency the vast territories and populations entrusted to his care?

The sole objection that Professor Rowley brings against this consideration is that the name of Gubaru does not appear beside that of Cyrus in the contract tablets that are dated during the accession-year of Cyrus. But why is this necessary? We are not claiming that Gubaru was either the co-ruler of the Persian Empire with Cyrus or the legitimate heir to the throne of Cyrus. It is to be expected that Cyrus would have reserved for himself the special prerogatives of Achaemenian sovereignty, such as having official contracts throughout the Empire dated according to his reign. How can this fact properly be made to exclude Gubaru's right to the title of "king"?

When he left for Ecbatana toward the end of his accession year, Cyrus left his son Cambyses as his personal representative to carry on

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 186-187. "That these governors might be called 'king' (i.e. *malka* or *melek*) in Aramaic and Hebrew we have shown above. It seems most probable, also, that they might be called 'king' (that is *sharru*) even in Babylonian. For, how else can we account for the fact that *Bel-shum-ishkun*, the father of *Nergal-shar-usur* is called "king of Babylon" in the Trinity College Cylinder (Col. I, 14)?" *Ibid.*, p. 198.

²¹Olmstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 71. Italics are mine.

the ritual prescribed for the king at the New Year's festival of March 27, 538 B.C. In this way, Cyrus was able to receive by proxy the approval of the Babylonian god Marduk, and was able to prefix the title "King of Babylon" to his former title "King of Lands."²²

But it is important to note that *Cambyases was not permitted to use the title "King of Babylon" while Cyrus was in power*. Instead, he was known simply as "the King's Son." Furthermore, he did not stay in Babylon, but moved to Sippar where he carried on the routine duties of a crown prince. Only at the New Year's festivals did he appear in Babylon, and then only to act as his father's representative. Not until eight years after the Fall of Babylon, when Cyrus left for his final (and fatal) campaign to the distant northeastern frontier, was Cambyases permitted to use the formal title, "King of Babylon," at the New Year's festival of March 26, 530 B.C.²³

But who was the *actual* king of Babylon during the years when Cyrus was out of the country and when young Cambyases was representing the Achaemenid royal family as "the King's Son" in Sippar? It was, in our opinion, none other than Gubaru the Governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River. For the contract tablets (as listed in Chapter II), though not dated according to the reign of Gubaru, are full of dreadful references to his name. The guilty party in a broken contract would not be committing a sin against Cambyases, or even against Cyrus, but against *Gubaru*.

The significance of this fact can hardly be over-estimated. That Cambyases, the King's Son, happened to be living in Babylonia during the last eight years of his father's life gave him no more claim to the title "King of Babylon" than to the title "King of Lydia." Cambyases was a *potential* king of the Persian Empire; Gubaru was the *actual* king of Babylonia and the Region beyond the River. Cambyases was the proxy for Cyrus at the New Year's festivals in Babylon because he was a

²²*Ibid.*, p. 86.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 87. These facts seriously conflict with Boutflower's theory (*In and Around the Book of Daniel*, pp. 146-149) that Cambyases was granted the title "King of Babylon" during the *first year* of Cyrus (538 B.C.), and consequently with Rowley's fourth argument (above) that Gubaru could not have ruled Babylonian during the first year of Cyrus. However, Boutflower did admit (p. 149) that the major question was "whether these tablets belong to the beginning or to the end of Cyrus' reign." The problem has been solved by Waldo H. Dubberstein, "The Chronology of Cyrus and Cambyases," *AJSL*, LV (1938), 417-419 (cited by Olmstead). For further discussion of Boutflower's hypothesis and Dubberstein's article, see below, pp. 44-46.

member of the royal household of Cyrus; but it was Gubaru who ruled the millions of the Fertile Crescent with a rod of iron and who issued the governmental decrees.²⁴ Therefore we feel that Rowley is making a caricature of the Book of Daniel when he says that "Babylon must be assumed to have had a galaxy of sovereigns at the time."²⁵

In the second place, we believe that the author made ample allowance for the subordination of Darius the Mede to a still higher human power, namely, Cyrus the Persian. If the Book of Daniel had represented Darius the Mede as the sovereign of the Persian Empire, or had mentioned the reign of Darius the Mede without specifying the realm over which he reigned or without at the same time mentioning the reign of Cyrus the Persian, one might well find reason for questioning the author's understanding of the history of that period. But we are told that after the death of "the Chaldean king," "Darius the Mede received *the kingdom*" (5:30-31), by which we are to understand the kingdom of "Belshazzar the Chaldean king" (which included Babylonia and its western possessions), and not the entire Persian Empire. And as though further confirmation of the limitations of his domain were necessary, we are told in 9:1 that Darius the Mede "was made king *over the realm of the Chaldeans.*"

In like manner, the fact that the author of the Book of Daniel mentions Cyrus the Persian three times (1:21, 6:28, 10:1) is enough to make one wary of the assertion that Darius the Mede is depicted throughout the book as a universal monarch. It is possible to maintain, of course, that the reign of Cyrus the Persian is represented as having *followed* the reign of Darius the Mede. But such a statement must be advanced without the benefit of proof, for the one text that mentions the two rulers together (6:28—"So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian") may just as well be interpreted as meaning that Daniel prospered during the *contemporary* reigns of two rulers, one of whom was subordinate to the other.²⁶ With

²⁴Cf. above, pp. 11, 12, Contenau Text 152 and Tremayne Text 70:5 for some of the decrees of Gubaru.

²⁵Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 25. We believe that Gubaru was the only true *sovereign* in Babylonia during this period, this sovereignty having been delegated to him by Cyrus.

²⁶Rowley makes much of the fact that Daniel 11:1, which seems to be dated in the third year of Cyrus (10:1), refers back to the first year of Darius the Mede, "as though the reign of Darius the Mede were a different period of reckoning from the already mentioned reign of Cyrus." *Op. cit.*, p. 29. For one who is already convinced that the author understood the reigns of Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian to be successive instead of contemporary, this would naturally

equal justification one might insist that Luke intended us to understand that the word of God came unto John the Baptist during the successive highpriesthoods of Annas and Caiaphas when he informed us that "in the highpriesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came unto John" (Luke 3:2).²⁷

We may not fully understand why the author dated some events according to the reign of Darius the Mede and others according to the reign of Cyrus the Persian if their reigns began at the same time; but that does not entitle us to conclude that such a method of dual reckoning was illegitimate. We believe that the analogy of Belshazzar's reign is instructive here. Since Belshazzar rather than Nabonidus was the prominent Neo-Babylonian monarch in the closing years of that empire, so far as the personal experiences of Daniel in Babylon were concerned, it was perfectly proper for events in the book of Daniel to be dated according to the reign of Belshazzar rather than Nabonidus (7:1, 8:1). Edward J. Young significantly comments on this point:

As to the fact that Daniel twice dates the reign of Belshazzar, it should again be remembered that the book of Daniel is not an official Babylonian document. Since Belshazzar was the king with whom Daniel had to do—and not Nabonidus—it is to be expected that Daniel would date his dreams according to the years of Belshazzar's reign. When Daniel's purpose is taken into consideration, I do not see how there can be objection to his practice. What other word could Daniel have employed to denote a man whose status was *regal*? The term crown-prince, from the Jewish viewpoint, would not have been sufficient. In the designation of Belshazzar as *king*, therefore, we see the second example of remarkable accuracy which this chapter exhibits.²⁸

That the author did not suppose Belshazzar to be second to none in the

seem to be the case. But if the contemporary-reign interpretation of 6:28 be allowed, the periods of reckoning in 10:1 and 11:1 will be seen as identical. The *terminus a quo* is the same. The prominence of Darius the Mede in the book makes this dual reckoning both legitimate and understandable.

²⁷In both Matthew (26:3,57) and John (11:49,51; 18:13,24) Caiaphas is said to have been the high priest at the time of Christ's death, while in Acts 4:6 Annas is the high priest. Did Luke mean to say, then, that Annas was high priest before Caiaphas (Luke 3:2) and resumed that position after the death of Christ (Acts 4:6)? The mystery is solved when we realize that Annas was high priest from 6 to 15 A.D., but continued during the highpriesthood of his son-in-law Caiaphas (18-36 A.D.) to preside over the Sanhedrin, to be called high priest, and to discharge partially the functions of high priest. Therefore the highpriesthoods of Luke 3:2 were contemporary, not successive.

²⁸Young, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

kingdom is shown by the *three* allusions to Nabonidus in the fifth chapter (5:7,16,29).²⁹

Similarly, it was Darius the Mede rather than Cyrus who figured most prominently in the life of Daniel following the Fall of Babylon; and consequently it was quite in order that events be dated according to his reign. But there is this great difference between Darius the Mede and Belshazzar, *which the author of the Book of Daniel seems to recognize*. Whereas Belshazzar was actually a member of the Neo-Babylonian royalty, Darius the Mede was not a member of the Achaemenid royalty. Therefore, while Belshazzar's superior (Nabonidus) is not even named in the Book of Daniel, Darius the Mede's superior (Cyrus) is *named three times* (1:21, 6:28, 10:1) and *events are dated according to his reign in the book*.

It has been objected that the decree which Darius the Mede signed, that no one might ask any petition of god or man for thirty days, save of himself (6:7,12), excludes the possibility of his being a subordinate of Cyrus. Several important points must be kept in mind as we study this account. In the first place, the phrase "ask a petition of any god or man" has reference not to the ordinary requests of daily life, but rather to prayers. James A. Montgomery remarks that "Behrmann's position is an entirely sensible one that the implication of the story means a petition of religion (not with Bevan any kind of request), and that this one king was to be regarded for the time being as the only representative of Deity."³⁰ S. R. Driver similarly concludes that "the meaning probably is, not any petition absolutely, but any petition of the nature of a prayer, or request addressed formally to a superior. The interdict has been deemed an incredible one; but some allowance must be made for what an oriental despot might prescribe in a freak of humour."³¹

²⁹Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-197: "Nabonidus was the titular head of the nation, but Belshazzar who had been delegated with royal authority by his father, was the second ruler. The fifth chapter of Daniel is in remarkable harmony with such a state of affairs. It describes a situation in which a man meriting royal favor could be rewarded by being made the third ruler in the kingdom. Different views have been expressed as to the meaning of the phrase 'the third ruler in the kingdom.' The most rational procedure is to interpret it in the light of known circumstances. . . . That the account in Daniel takes cognizance of this, although not mentioning Nabonidus, may be regarded as indicating a true historical basis for the narrative."

³⁰James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, *The International Critical Commentary* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 270.

³¹S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* (Cambridge: University Press, 1900), p. 73. This and the preceding reference are cited in Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, p. 257.

This leads us to a second observation concerning this decree. The sixth chapter of Daniel clearly indicates that the decree was not the product of calm and calculating reflection on the part of Darius the Mede. On the contrary, it was foisted upon the unsuspecting monarch by a group of men who would never have conceived of such a fantastic proclamation had they not been overwhelmed by their jealousy of Daniel. "Of course there is difficulty in the account," writes Edward J. Young, "but who is to say that an oriental despot, yielding to the subtle flattery of such a proposal, might not, in a weak moment, have agreed to it?"³² Darius himself no doubt realized the absurdity of the whole affair when he discovered, too late, that he had been led into a trap. But the very fact that such a decree had been prepared and signed shows how deeply ingrained were the polytheisms of the ancient world and how attractive were the Pharaoh-worshipping customs of Egypt that soon came into shocking fruition in the Hellenistic age.

But even more important for our discussion is the comparison of this decree with Darius' second decree (6:25-27), which was intended to counteract the first. Here we find words that remind us of Nebuchadnezzar's decree in 4:1, and which may be similarly interpreted: "Then king Darius wrote unto all the peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth: Peace be multiplied unto you." The word "earth" (Aramaic: *arah*) in 4:1 and 6:25 is better rendered *land* in the context, and refers to that area of the Near East which had been ruled by Nebuchadnezzar and was now being ruled by Darius the Mede, namely, the Fertile Crescent. R. D. Wilson writes in this connection:

When I was defending Daniel against Dr. Driver's charge that the author must have meant *the whole empire of Persia* by the phrase "in all the earth," I collected a mass of evidence to show that the most usual and explicit Hebrew phrases for denoting a world-wide empire are "all lands," or "all the kingdoms of the lands," and that by "all the land" [*kol hă'ārā'*] in Dan. 6:26 [6:25 in English Bible], it is possible that the more limited sphere of the sway of Darius as sub-king was denoted. Professor Fullerton challenges me to produce a single instance where the phrase is "applied to such a diversified territory as Sargon's empire." This I gladly do. He will find it in Dan. 4:1 (3:31 in MT). Dan. 6:25 is identical with 4:1, except that one is the greeting of Darius the Mede and the other of Nebuchadnezzar. The kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar was about the same size as that of Sargon.³³

As for the reference to "peoples, nations, and languages," it is well that we remind ourselves of the cosmopolitan and heterogeneous popula-

³²Young, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

³³Wilson, *PTR*, XX (1922), 190. Cf. Leupold, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

tions that inhabited that particular region in the sixth century B.C., "for Babylonia itself at this time was inhabited by Babylonians, Chaldeans, Arabians, Aramaeans, and Jews, and the kingdom of the Chaldeans embraced also Assyrians, Elamites, Phoenicians and others within its limits."³⁴

There may also be some significance to the fact that Darius the Mede issued his decree to "the dominion of *my kingdom*" (6:26), whereas Cyrus claimed: "*all the kingdoms of the earth* hath Jehovah, the God of heaven, given me" (Ezra 1:2). Properly considered, therefore, the decrees of Darius the Mede as recorded in the sixth chapter of Daniel do not contradict the implications found elsewhere in the book that Darius the Mede was a subordinate to Cyrus the Persian. The purely religious scope of the decree, with all that this implies in the religious and political history of the ancient Orient, together with the highly abnormal circumstances under which the decree was issued, permit us to interpret it as having applied only to that particular land and kingdom which Darius the Mede received from Nabonidus and Belshazzar, and not to the entire Persian Empire. Wilson's observations are once again worthy of our careful attention here:

The Book of Daniel does not tell anything about the words and deeds of Darius the Mede that may not just as well have characterized a sub-king as a king of kings. Besides, he was an extraordinary *pihatu* for he had appointed *pihatu*s under him. As long as he paid the tribute of his government to the imperial power and kept the peace and ruled according to the laws of the Medes and Persians, he could do, for aught we know, whatever he pleased inside his own dominions. Such has invariably been the custom in the East. It was so among the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Parthians, Sassanians, and Abbasids, and has been so among the Turks and the Hindus. It is a necessary accompaniment of the satrapal form of government.³⁵

There has been much controversy over the true significance of the statements that Darius the Mede "received the kingdom" (5:31 — *qabbēl malkûthā*) and "was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans" (9:1 — *hāmlak 'al malkûth kasdim*). Professor Rowley cites Venema, Pusey, Keil, Wright, Wilson, and Boutflower as interpreting these phrases to imply the subordination of Darius the Mede to Cyrus the Persian.³⁶

Rowley adduces much historical and linguistic evidence to show that the phrase "received the kingdom" (5:31) actually means "succeeded to

³⁴Wilson, "Darius," *ISBE*, II, 788.

³⁵Wilson, *PTR*, XX (1922), 197.

³⁶Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

the kingdom," whether by normal inheritance or inheritance by the sword, and that "it is idle to pretend that in the book of Daniel it must denote a delegated authority."³⁷ But we do not contend that the phrase *must* denote a delegated authority. We do insist, however, that "the expression used is not out of harmony with the idea that Cyrus appointed Gobryas king over Chaldaea."³⁸

However, the statement of Daniel 9:1 is a different matter. Here the Hebrew phrase "was made king over the realm" (*hāmlak 'al malkûth*) implies that Darius the Mede was a subordinate ruler. Some, indeed, have suggested that he was made king by God. To this suggestion, Boutflower gives an appropriate reply: "Made king by God? What a needless statement! All kings are made kings by God. But if we take the words to mean *made king by man*, then at once they become intelligible."³⁹ In order to sidestep the force of this passive (*Hoph'al*) form of the verb *malak*, Rowley relies upon the versions and follows Montgomery in abandoning the reading of the Massoretic Text in favor of a supposed Aramaism.⁴⁰ Edward J. Young concludes that "if the passive be retained, it may mean that Darius was made king by God, but more likely he received the office as a viceroy from Cyrus."⁴¹

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have examined in some detail each of Professor Rowley's major objections to the identification of Darius the Mede with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon and the Region beyond the River. We have seen that even though Greek and cuneiform sources do not mention the name Darius in connection with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon, there are strong reasons for believing that Gubaru could have been given the honorific title Darius upon being installed vice-king in Babylon. We have further shown that Gubaru could very well have been the son of Ahasuerus, and that he could also have been a Mede.

In reply to Rowley's lengthy argument that Gubaru was not a king and that the Book of Daniel depicts him in the role of a universal monarch, we sought to show that Gubaru was actually the *de facto* king of Babylon though not a member of Cyrus' family, and that ample allowances are made in the Book of Daniel for the subordination of Darius

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁸Leupold, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

³⁹Boutflower, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁴⁰Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

⁴¹Young, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

the Mede to a higher human power. In the first place, there are interesting inscriptions extant, particularly the Behistun inscription, which show that a provincial governor could be spoken of as a king. Secondly, a careful study of the documents which describe the events that followed the Fall of Babylon in 539 B.C. reveals that Gubaru, rather than Camby-ses, or even Cyrus, was the real authority over a vast territory that included Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. Surely such an exalted position would have justified the ascription of the title "king" to Darius the Mede on the part of his subjects, even though the official contract tablets were dated according to the reign of Cyrus. Such a title appears even more appropriate when we realize that the Aramaic term *malika* was the closest native equivalent for the Babylonian term *pihatu*, which is the title given to Gubaru in the Nabonidus Chronicle.

But it is far from accurate to assert that the Book of Daniel sets forth Darius the Mede as a universal monarch. After all, the author specifically states that it was the realm of the Chaldeans over which Darius the Mede ruled, not the entire Persian Empire. That the author was fully aware of the existence of Cyrus is proven by the fact that his name appears three times in the book. That he was also aware of the subordination of Darius the Mede to Cyrus is implied by the analogy of Belshazzar and Nabonidus in the fifth chapter and by the dating of events according to the reign of Cyrus instead of the reign of Darius the Mede alone. Nor can it be proven that Darius the Mede was thought to be a universal monarch because of the decree he signed; for the nature and circumstances of the decree allow for a more limited application, namely, to the realm of the Chaldeans over which he is said to have been made king. Even the terminology of Daniel 9:1 lends support to the fact that Darius was considered to be a subordinate ruler by the author of the Book of Daniel.

The arguments of the critics for the universality of Darius' dominion really lose much of their force when we realize that they are advanced in support of a special theory. Scholars like H. H. Rowley are greatly concerned to prove that the Book of Daniel posits an independent Median Empire between those of Neo-Babylonia and Persia, in order to support their theory that the fourth empire of Daniel 2 and 7 must be Greece instead of Rome.⁴² Such a *a priori* reasoning colors their entire approach to the statements of the book, and renders their judgments somewhat less

⁴²See below, pp. 54ff., for a refutation of the critical view that the author conceived of an independent Median Empire following the Fall of Babylon.

than objective. But the Book of Daniel cannot be made to contradict itself in the interests of a special theory.

In the light of these considerations, we conclude that the objections which Professor Rowley has raised against the identification of Darius the Mede with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon cannot be sustained.

Chapter Five

OTHER IDENTIFICATIONS WITH DARIUS THE MEDE

Until the end of the nineteenth century, attempts were made to identify Darius the Mede with various persons mentioned in the writings of the Greek historians. Since Herodotus states (I, 109) that Astyages, the last Median king, had no son, many scholars tried to identify him with Darius the Mede. The most popular view was that Darius the Mede should be identified with the Cyaxares whom Xenophon represented as the son of Astyages and the last king of Media (I, 5:2).¹ Ignorance of the historical identification of Belshazzar had even led some to speculate that Darius the Mede was Neriglissar or Nabonidus.

But the discovery of cuneiform historical texts in the late nineteenth century, which gave us our first accurate information concerning the Neo-Babylonian period, dealt a death blow to these older hypotheses. It was discovered that Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus; the Cyaxares whom Xenophon postulated as the son of Astyages was a mere figment of the imagination; and Astyages could have had no vital connection with Babylon. To the writer's knowledge, there are no contemporary advocates of these identifications.

After the publication of the Nabonidus Chronicle in 1880, many able scholars sought to identify Darius the Mede with the "Gobryas" of that text and with the Gobryas of Xenophon and Herodotus. Among these were Babelon, Trochon, Delitzsch, Deane, Pinches, de Moor, Vigouroux, Hommel, Wright, J. D. Wilson, R. D. Wilson, W. F. Albright, Stokmann, Thilo, and Möller.²

But the failure to see that the so-called "Gobryas" of the Nabonidus Chronicle was actually two different persons, Ugbaru and Gubaru, because of an inaccurate translation by Pinches, left certain points in confusion. It was not understood, until Sidney Smith's translation was published in 1924, that Ugbaru, the Governor of Gutium, died shortly after

¹Cf. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires of the Book of Daniel*, pp. 9-11 and 30-43 for refutations of these identifications.

²*Ibid.*, p. 19.

the Fall of Babylon. Thus, he could not have been the same person as the Gubaru whose name appears in contract tablets for fourteen years after 539 B.C. Once the myth of the Nabonidus Chronicle "Gobryas" was dispelled, it became possible for the first time to postulate that Darius the Mede was Gubaru the Governor of Babylon rather than Ugbaru the Governor of Gutium.

In this chapter, the only historical alternatives to the Gubaru identification that can claim any degree of plausibility will be examined. The first of these alternatives is that Darius the Mede was Cambyses the son of Cyrus the Great. The second alternative is that Darius the Mede was Cyrus the Great himself.

THE THEORY THAT DARIUS THE MEDE WAS CAMBYSES

This theory was first set forth by Winckler in 1901 and by Riessler in 1902.³ But it remained for Charles Boutflower to present, in 1923, the most elaborate defense of the Cambyses identification.⁴ The strength of Boutflower's case may be judged from the fact that Rowley considered it to be "the only effort to harmonize the book of Daniel here with known history that can claim the slightest plausibility."⁵

But Boutflower himself did not consider his view to be the only possible one, for he admitted that

if we follow the guidance of the...irrefutable evidence of the contract tablets, there are two persons, and only two, who can henceforth be looked upon as forming the original of the Darius of the Book of Daniel. According to the cuneiform records the choice must lie between Gobryas, Cyrus' governor in Babylon, and Cambyses the son of Cyrus. The claims of both these individuals to what we may call the vacant throne are very strong.⁶

After listing various points which favor the Gobryas view, Boutflower sets forth his two main reasons for preferring the equation, Darius the Mede=Cambyses:

First, Gobryas, unlike Darius the Mede, is never called a king, or described as having royal power—he is only a governor; secondly, Gobryas was not the successor of Belshazzar on the throne of Babylon. In both these respects Cambyses has incomparably the stronger claim, since it can be shown that for some nine months in the first year of Cyrus after the capture of Babylon, Cambyses occupied the same

³*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴*In and Around the Book of Daniel*, pp. 142-167.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 144.

position in relation to his father Cyrus, both in the empire and on the throne of Babylon, which Belshazzar had held under his father Nabonidus; and also that Cambyes was appointed by his father Cyrus as the successor of Belshazzar.⁷

Plausible though Boutflower's theory may seem on first sight, it suffers from the lack of any positive evidence in its favor. For his strongest argument, namely, that Cambyes was given the title "King of Babylon" soon after the Fall of Babylon, has now been eliminated through the researches of Waldo H. Dubberstein. After showing how the confused dating systems of the scribes (in twenty-nine tablets dated to the first year of Cambyes) can best be explained by the fact that Cyrus appointed Cambyes to be his co-regent just before leaving for his final campaign to the northeast (the spring of 530 B.C.), Dubberstein concludes:

This suggested interpretation has the support of the Greek tradition and the recently discovered Persepolis inscription which indicated that Xerxes was likewise appointed king by his father, Darius, before the latter's death. To postulate a dual reign at the beginning of Cyrus' reign instead of at the end has no support in the texts or in tradition, and is apparently opposed by the dual dating already quoted, *year one, accession year of Cambyes, King of Babylon and Lands*. This interpretation also makes impossible any identification of Cambyes with "Darius the Mede" of the Book of Daniel which was based on the assumption that Cambyes was co-regent with Cyrus immediately after the capture of Babylon.⁸

Furthermore, Boutflower does not succeed in proving that Cambyes could have been "the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes" (Dan. 9:1). It is a well established fact that the father of Cambyes, Cyrus the Great, was of a true Persian lineage;⁹ and Professor A. T. Olmstead follows Herodotus (I, 208; II, 1; III, 2) in asserting that Cambyes was the eldest son of Cyrus by Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, a fellow-Achaemenid.¹⁰ Thus, both the father and mother of Cambyes were true Persians.

Boutflower, however, rejects the testimony of Herodotus concerning the identity of Cambyes' mother, and follows Ctesias in identifying her

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

⁸"The Chronology of Cyrus and Cambyes," *AJSL*, LV (1938), 419. Dougherty (*Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 95, 199), was misled by this dating system too, and thus preferred Boutflower's hypothesis.

⁹We refer here to Cyrus' *paternal* lineage; his mother was Mandane, daughter of Astyages, last king of Media (Herodotus, I, 91, 107-108, 111). Cf. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire*, p. 34.

¹⁰Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

as Amytis, the daughter of Astyages.¹¹ He then assumes that Ahasuerus in Daniel 9:1 is Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, one of the great kings of Media.¹² But even if it could be shown that his mother was Amytis and that she was a daughter of Astyages (an extremely unlikely hypothesis), it would still be inaccurate to call Cambyses "the son of" his mother's grandfather. Still less could it be said that Cambyses was "of the seed of the Medes." Nor can it be shown that Ahasuerus is the same as Cyaxares.

Finally, Darius the Mede was sixty-two years old when he received the kingdom from Belshazzar (Dan. 5:31), and Cambyses could not possibly have been that old in 539 B.C. Realizing this, Boutflower maintains that a copyist made a mistake in transcribing the original number-letters, and that Darius the Mede was not sixty-two in the year of Babylon's fall, but only twelve!¹³ The theory is somewhat bizarre and lacks adequate proof. It seems to be highly improbable that the Biblical data on Darius the Mede could be applied to a twelve-year-old boy. Olmstead says that Cambyses "was a mature man at the conquest of Babylon."¹⁴

It may be stated in conclusion, that the only two objections which Boutflower raises against the Gubaru identification can be answered;¹⁵ whereas the weaknesses in his own theory are fatal.

THE THEORY THAT DARIUS THE MEDE WAS CYRUS THE PERSIAN

Donald J. Wiseman, head of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum, has recently advanced the theory that Darius the Mede was none other than Cyrus the Persian. In an article entitled, "The Last Days of Babylon,"¹⁶ Dr. Wiseman describes the discovery of a stone monument in Harran, inscribed in Babylonian, which gives Nabonidus' own account of events during his reign. After referring to his self-imposed exile to Southern Arabia for ten years, Nabonidus speaks of a new attitude on the part of his subjects in Babylonia:

¹¹Boutflower, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 156-160.

¹⁴Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁵Cf. above, pp. 30-40.

¹⁶*Christianity Today*, Vol. II, No. 4 (Nov. 25, 1957), pp. 7-10. The article is an abridgement of a BBC broadcast talk given on "Nebuchadnezzar and The Last Days of Babylon." We take this opportunity of expressing appreciation to Dr. Wiseman for the interest he has shown in the writer's monograph, and the many helpful suggestions he has made.

They rejoiced in abundance and the kings of Egypt, of the Medes and of the Arabs, who had been hostile, sent messengers to me to make an alliance involving peace and friendly relations. The gods made the peoples of Babylonia and Syria to be united with me in word and heart... they kept watch and fulfilled my commands in the remoteness of distant mountains and in the remote paths I travelled.¹⁷

On the basis of Nabonidus' reference to "the kings of Egypt, of the Medes..." Dr. Wiseman states:

"The king of the Medes" in the tenth year of Nabonidus' reign [546 B.C.] can be no other than Cyrus the Persian, for he had incorporated the province of Media in what became the greater realm of Persia [550 B.C.]... It now seems that in Babylonia Cyrus used the title "King of the Medes" in addition to the more usual "King of Persia, King of Babylonia, King of the lands..." Is it too bold an hypothesis to suggest that the "King of the Medes" of our Babylonian text may yet prove to be the "Darius the Mede" of Daniel's day? Cyrus, at the age of 62, might well have taken another name as king of the Medes and even have been the son of Ahasuerus, as was the biblical "Darius," so obscure is his ancestry. The biblical reference can as easily be translated "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, *even* in the reign of Cyrus the Persian."¹⁸

This hypothesis is obviously an intriguing one, being based upon new cuneiform evidence; and it avoids some of the pitfalls of the Cambyses identification. But can the mere fact that Nabonidus refers to "the king of the Medes" in the year 546 B.C. be sufficient foundation for the theory that Cyrus the Persian was Darius the Mede? We believe not, and that for several reasons.

In the first place, there is nothing surprising about the fact that Nabonidus would refer to Cyrus as "the king of the Medes" instead of "the king of the Persians," since Media had been the dominant power on the Iranian plateau for two centuries. Olmstead observed that "foreigners spoke regularly of the Medes and Persians; when they used a single term, it was 'the Mede.'"¹⁹ But for Dr. Wiseman to say, on the basis of the Nabonidus inscription from Harran, that "in Babylonia Cyrus used the title 'King of the Medes' in addition to the more usual 'King of Persia, King of Babylonia, King of the land,'" is to say much more than the documents allow.

Furthermore, the Bible informs us that Darius the Mede was "of the seed of the Medes" (Dan. 9:1). It is true, of course, that the Medes and

¹⁷Quoted by Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁸*Loc. cit.*

¹⁹Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Persians were both Aryan peoples; and we have already seen that Cyrus had a Median mother, Mandane, the daughter of Astyages. But Cyrus and the other Achaemenid kings were always careful to emphasize their distinctly *Persian* lineage back to Achaemenes, who led the armies of Parsumash and Anshan against Sennacherib in 681 B.C.²⁰ Cyrus never referred to himself as "King of the Medes," as far as the inscriptions are concerned; and it is only through secondary sources that we learn of his Median mother. The phrase "seed of the Medes" in Daniel 9:1 means that the *paternal* (as opposed to the maternal) ancestry of Darius was Median. Such a phrase could not be an accurate description of Cyrus the Persian.²¹

By the same token, it would be highly perplexing to find the author of the Book of Daniel referring to *Darius the Mede* in some passages (5:31, 9:1, 11:1), and to *Cyrus the Persian* in others (1:21, 10:1), if he intended us to understand these names as referring to the same person throughout. Dr. Wiseman suggests that we translate Daniel 6:28 to read: "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, *even* in the reign of Cyrus the Persian," and cites I Chronicles 5:26 as a parallel ("And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglathpileser king of Assyria," where the same king is spoken of).²² But the analogy of I Chronicles 5:26 does not adequately support Wiseman's proposed translation of Daniel 6:28, for both parts of the former reference employ the descriptive phrase "king of Assyria," while in the latter instance *Darius the Mede* is set over against *Cyrus the Persian*.²³

A final objection to the Cyrus identification is that Daniel 9:1 speaks of Darius the Mede as being "the son of Ahasuerus." The name Ahasuerus (Hebrew: *'ahashwērōsh*) appears also in Ezra 4:7 and frequently in Esther, where it refers to Xerxes king of Persia, the son of Darius Hystaspes. It will be recalled that we have no information in the cuneiform documents concerning the father of Gubaru the Governor of

²⁰See Appendix I.

²¹To use Rowley's terminology in rejecting the Cambyses identification (*op. cit.*, p. 17): If the mother of Cyrus were a Mede, that would hardly make her son a Mede. And since the Book of Daniel explicitly refers to Cyrus as "the Persian," we should need to have some clear proof that descent was reckoned through the female line before we could understand any reference to him as being "the Mede."

²²This cross reference was suggested by Dr. Wiseman in a letter dated April 8, 1957.

²³In refuting the Cambyses view, Rowley said: "The contrast between Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Mede is so definite that no one could possibly suppose the author to have known that they were father and son" (*op. cit.*, p. 17). Even less can we suppose that the author thought they were the same person.

Babylon; his father, therefore, may very well have been a man by the name of Ahasuerus (Xerxes). But *we do know* that Cyrus the Persian was the son of Cambyses (Kanbujia). Consequently, the statement of Daniel 9:1 once again becomes a stumbling block to our acceptance of the equation, Darius the Mede=Cyrus the Persian. We do not believe that a contemporary writer could have been referring to *Cyrus the Persian, son of Cambyses*, when he wrote of a man who was *the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes*.

In bringing this chapter to a conclusion, we need only point out that the inadequacy of alternative identifications serves to strengthen the view that Darius the Mede was none other than Gubaru the Governor of Babylon and the Region beyond the River.

Chapter Six

DARIUS THE MEDE NOT A CONFLATION OF CONFUSED TRADITIONS

Because of the lack of reliable extra-Biblical information concerning the personal characteristics and activities of Gubaru the Governor of Babylon, it has been a very simple matter for critics of the Book of Daniel to state that he could not have been Darius the Mede, and that the words and deeds attributed to Darius the Mede in the sixth chapter of Daniel have no foundation in history.

However, it is one thing to assert that Darius the Mede never existed, and quite another thing to explain the strong and unmistakable testimony of the Book of Daniel to his existence in history. For the Book of Daniel purports to be a sober and reasonable account of events that occurred at the end of the sixth century B.C., written by a contemporary observer. To dismiss the testimony of such a document with a wave of the hand, and to insist that one of the main personages of the book is the fictitious creation of a second century B.C. writer, is to fly into the face of historical evidences that literally cry out for honest appraisal.

Those who have rejected the historicity of the sixth chapter of Daniel have been forced into the rather precarious position of assuming that the author of the Book of Daniel was hopelessly confused about the simplest facts of Neo-Babylonian and Persian history. According to their theory, the unknown author of the Book of Daniel, writing during the first half of the second century B.C., was so ignorant of the history of Babylonia and Persia that he reflected back into his characterization of Darius the Mede some of the facts which apply properly to Cyrus the Great (539-530 B.C.) and Darius Hystaspes (522-486 B.C.). In so doing, he confused the Fall of Babylon in 539 B.C. with that of 520 B.C. under Darius Hystaspes; confused the appointing of 120 satraps with the later division of the Persian Empire under Darius Hystaspes into twenty satrapies; transposed Darius Hystaspes and Cyrus the Great, making the former to precede the latter; confused the age of Darius Hystaspes with that of Cyrus; confused the relationship between Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes,

making the latter his father rather than his son; and confused the nationality of Darius Hystaspes by making him a Mede instead of a Persian.¹

But this complex colossus of the critics, sacrosanct and secure though its position may be in our contemporary halls of learning, rests, like an inverted pyramid, upon a point that tends to vanish from the sight. Several important considerations, which will be set forth in this chapter, help us to see that it is certainly not historical evidences but rather *a priori* assumptions that hold this colossus of critical theorizing so firmly in its place.

(1) *The author was admittedly a brilliant scholar.* Dr. Robert H. Pfeiffer of Harvard University, a leading representative of the liberal wing of Old Testament scholarship in America, and a staunch advocate of the "reflection hypothesis," maintained that

the author of the Book of Daniel was obviously a very learned man... not only a seer, but also a sage.... His range of reading was wide and his knowledge... quite extensive.

...the book of Daniel is a great literary monument, the first real apocalypse and the classic example of this literary genre. The numerous Jewish and Christian imitations are evidence of the importance of our book in the history of literature.

We shall presumably never know how our author learned that the new Babylon was the creation of Nebuchadnezzar (4:30), as the excavations have proved..., and that Belshazzar, mentioned only in Babylonian records... was functioning as king when Cyrus took Babylon in 538.²

Furthermore, when certain critics accused the author of representing the priestly class as addressing Nebuchadnezzar in Aramaic instead of Babylonian, R. H. Charles, the well-known authority on Jewish apocalyptic literature, retorted:

To ascribe to such a scholar as our author such ignorance of the situation and of the linguistic problem, as do Driver, Behrmann, and Kamphausen, is simply incredible.... If, therefore, we may presume that our author was familiar with his Jeremiah, and if, as Lenormant informs us, he had 'an excellent knowledge of Eastern usages,' we

¹For presentations of this theory, from slightly different standpoints, see H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires*, pp. 54-60; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, p. 65; R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. 145-146; S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), p. 500; and Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 757.

²Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), pp. 766, 772, 758-759.

may reasonably conclude, first, that he does not confound Babylonian with Aramaic, and, secondly, that he would be very unlikely to represent the Chaldeans as speaking a language which according to this theory was *familiar* to both Jew and Chaldean.³

(2) *In describing Darius the Mede, the author gives every indication that he is writing true history.* When a historian realizes that he must discuss a certain period of history without the aid of solid facts, he invariably contents himself with generalizations. But our author betrays no sense of confusion or uncertainty with regard to the reign of Darius the Mede; for immediately following his account of Belshazzar's doom, he introduces Darius the Mede with no apparent break in the narrative. Furthermore, this ruler is described in exactly the same manner as other rulers in the book (i.e., Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar), in his administrative policies, decrees, and personal dealings with the prophet Daniel. And finally, the author leaves his readers with the irresistible impression that he was an eyewitness of the events narrated; for we are given the exact words that Darius spoke, the clearest presentation of his personality, and the minutest details of his actions and those of his officers. "Now, whatever opinion one may have with regard to the writer of the book of Daniel," says Wilson, "it seems certain that the very last impression one could derive from the book itself would be that the writer himself felt that he had a dim and uncertain knowledge of the events which he narrates."⁴

(3) *Even if the author lived during the Maccabean Age, he could hardly have been as ignorant of history as the critics claim.* When the critics insist that the author of the Book of Daniel was so confused about the history of the sixth century B.C. that he thought Darius Hystaspes preceded Cyrus the Great and that Xerxes was the father of Darius Hystaspes, they have gone too far. No intelligent Jew of the second century B.C. could have committed such a blunder. From the Book of Ezra (4:5-6) he would at least have known that the early Persian kings followed one another in this order: (1) Cyrus, (2) Darius, (3) Xerxes, (4) Artaxerxes.⁵

But we need not speculate as to whether or not the author was aware of the identity of the early kings of Persia, for in 11:2 he records the angelic prophecy, that "there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia;

³R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

⁴R. D. Wilson, *SBD-1*, p. 148.

⁵According to the dating scheme devised by the critics, the book of Ezra was written by the Chronicler about 250 B.C., long before the Maccabean Age. Cf. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 812.

and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and when he is waxed strong through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece." We believe that A. A. Bevan's comment on this verse is significant:

It has often been supposed that the Darius of Daniel is a confused reminiscence of the historical Darius Hystaspes, but this is scarcely probable. The author of Daniel knew of four Persian kings (11:2), of whom the first is Cyrus and the last doubtless Xerxes.⁶ It is more probable, however, that these four Persian kings are seen as future to Cyrus (the contemporary of Darius the Mede), giving us the following order: (1) Cambyzes, (2) Gautama or Pseudo-Smerdis, (3) Darius, and (4) Xerxes. In either case, the author was perfectly aware of the fact that Cyrus preceded Darius Hystaspes and that Xerxes was the son, not the father, of Darius Hystaspes.

The rejoinder of H. H. Rowley to this argument is, in our opinion, a classic example of "begging the question":

Since his ideas of this period were so inexact, this has little weight. If he could confuse the two captures of Babylon, he could just as easily make the contrary error of supposing there were two Dariuses about that time. And if he could transfer some things that properly belonged to Cyrus to his Darius the Mede without erasing Cyrus from the page of history, he could equally transfer some of the things that properly belong to Darius Hystaspes to his Darius the Mede without removing Hystaspes from his own place as a successor of Cyrus. Despite all the efforts to find a place in history for Darius the Mede, therefore, we are compelled to recognize that he is a fictitious creation.⁷

When the critic goes so far as to call into question the intelligence of the author of the Book of Daniel in order to support his own complex theories, there seems to be little point in engaging in further discussion. Perhaps we may be pardoned for assuming that the author at least knew enough to remember what he had written in his own book!

Robert Dick Wilson has shown that a writer of the second century B.C. would have had at his disposal scores of works that dealt with the history of the Persian Empire, among them being the writings of Herodotus, Ctesias, Berossus, and Menander.⁸ Josephus informs us that he consulted forty different historians in preparing his treatise *Contra Apion*, many of whom dated back to the second and third centuries before Christ.⁹ In other words, writers of this period were accustomed to using *sources* for the preparation of historical accounts, and they had access to many

⁶A. A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1892), p. 109.

⁷Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁸Wilson, *SBD-1*, p. 149.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 145.

sources that have long since been lost. Wilson concludes his valuable discussion by saying:

In the name of scholarship and for the sake of truth and righteousness, it is time to call a halt on all those who presume to a knowledge which they do not possess, in order to cast reproach upon an ancient writer, as to whose sources of information and knowledge of the facts they must be ignorant and whose statements they cannot possibly fully understand, nor successfully contradict.¹⁰

(4) *The author did not believe that an independent Median kingdom existed between the Fall of Babylon and the rise of Persia.* A major support to the critical "reflection hypothesis" is the assumption that the author of the Book of Daniel placed a Median kingdom after the Fall of Babylon and the rise of Persia. The fact that such a kingdom did not follow the Neo-Babylonian kingdom is said to constitute final proof that the author was utterly confused about the history of that period and that he was reflecting back to 539 B.C. the conquest of Babylon by Darius Hystaspes in 520 B.C. But once again we must assume that our Jewish author, whom Robert H. Pfeiffer calls "a very learned man" and "a sage," had never read II Chronicles 36:20, where it is said that the Jews were servants to Nebuchadnezzar "and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia" (cf. Dan. 1:21). Obviously, this verse allows no room for a separate kingdom between that of Nebuchadnezzar's sons and the reign of the kingdom of Persia.

Now a careful study of the Book of Daniel itself reveals that the author did *not* believe in the existence of an independent Median kingdom after the fall of Babylon. At the end of the fifth chapter of Daniel (vv. 25-28), the last word that appeared on the wall was interpreted to mean: "thy kingdom is divided and given to *the Medes and Persians*." Not only is the Neo-Babylonian kingdom to be destroyed by a *dual monarchy*, but also the word *peres* (divided, or destroyed) points to the *Persians* (*paras*), rather than the Medes, as the dominant power in the conquest of Babylon.¹¹ This concept of a dual monarchy, with Persia being the dominant power, is seen further in the vision of chapter eight where "the kings of Media and Persia" are symbolized by *the single ram* (8:20); indeed, it was "a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last" (8:3, cf. 2:32, 7:5).

No sooner did Darius the Mede set up his administration than we

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹¹E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, p. 127.

discover him to be subject to "the law of the Medes and Persians" (6:8,12,15). This would have been impossible had the author understood Media to be an independent kingdom preceding Persia or if he had understood the Neo-Babylonian kingdom to have been split equally to the independent kingdoms of Media and Persia, somewhat as Assyria had been split between Media and Neo-Babylonia.¹² As a matter of fact, the mention of Medes before Persians in the phrase, "the law of the Medes and Persians," is an evidence of the early date of the book; for in later years the Persians were usually mentioned before the Medes (Esther 1:3,14,18,19, though not 10:2; cf. I Macc. 6:56).¹³ Finally, the author does not state anywhere that Darius was "the king of the Medes" or "the king of Media" but simply that he was a Mede; and nowhere in the Book of Daniel is it said that Darius the Mede ruled before Cyrus.¹⁴

According to the critics, the author assumed from his study of certain Old Testament prophecies (Isa. 13:17, 21:2, and Jer. 51:11,28) that the Medes alone were the conquerors of Babylon. In itself the theory is quite fantastic; but it suffers a fatal blow from the fact that Isaiah speaks of Elam and Media as the joint-conquerors of Babylon (Isa. 21:2). Rowley tacitly admits the force of this verse when he writes:

This was doubtless written after Cyrus, king of Anshan, in south-west Elam, had brought the rest of Elam under his sway, when to the Hebrew observer it appeared likely that these two powers might unite in the destruction of Babylon. And since Elam is mentioned first, it is possible that the passage dates from a time after the absorption of Media by Cyrus.¹⁵

But if, as R. H. Charles insists, the author was desperately concerned, as an apocalypticist, to invent a fulfillment of the unfulfilled prophecies in Isaiah and Jeremiah with regard to the conquest of Babylon by Medes, why would not the author have been equally concerned to show that Cyrus, rather than a Median king, was the deliverer of the Jews, in accordance with the prophecies of Isaiah 44:24-45:7?¹⁶ But the entire theory is unnecessary, for Donald J. Wiseman has brought to our attention the Harran stele, in which Nabonidus makes reference to the king of the Medes in the year 546 B.C., four years *after* the absorption of

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 127. Characteristically, the critics find an anachronism in the fact that Darius the Mede is under the law of the Medes and Persians. Cf. A. Jeffery, "Daniel," *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), VI, 442.

¹⁴Cf. above, pp. 33ff.

¹⁵Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁶Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142.

Media by Cyrus.¹⁷ It was perfectly proper, therefore, for Isaiah and Jeremiah to refer to the conquerors of Babylon as Medes. Realizing this to be the case, why would our author have desired to invent a Darius the Mede to vindicate the prophets?

The Book of Daniel knows nothing of an *independent Median kingdom following the Fall of Babylon*. The only place where such a kingdom has ever existed is in the mind of the critic; and it is he, rather than the author of the Book of Daniel, who must be accused of having "confused ideas."

(5) *If the author were as ignorant of history as the critics claim, the Jews of the Maccabean period would never have accepted his book as canonical.* Even if the critic could succeed in making us believe that the author of the Book of Daniel was utterly confused concerning the basic outline of Neo-Babylonian and Persian history, he could not succeed in making us believe that all the Jewish scholars of the Maccabean era were equally confused. But such must have been the case if the author's description of Darius the Mede was a "conflation of confused traditions," for even the critics admit that the Book of Daniel was accepted as canonical in the second century B.C.

But the absurdity of such an hypothesis becomes evident when we realize that the period from 250 B.C. to 100 B.C. was one of tremendous literary accomplishment for the Jews. It was then that the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek, and Ben Sira wrote the book of Ecclesiasticus, translated by his grandson into Greek about 130 B.C. It was at the end of this period that the masterly account of Jewish struggles against the Seleucids, First Maccabees, was composed. Robert Dick Wilson pointedly asks:

Can we believe that among the Jews in Babylonia—where cuneiform was written and read as late as the first century B.C.—there were none who could read the documents of their adopted country well enough to reject as fabulous the supposititious history and falsely claimed predictions of the so-called Pseudo-Daniel? Are we to believe, that 150 years after the time when Berossus had written the history of Babylon, and Menander that of Tyre, and Manetho that of Egypt, that in the age of Polybius and Diodorus Siculus and a host of other great historians writing in the *lingua franca* of the educated world;

¹⁷Wiseman states, in a letter to the writer dated July 11, 1958: "The 'critical' argument [against the historicity of Darius the Mede] involves the supposedly *wrong* use of 'Mede' after 550 B.C. This is the main point of my own case and should be used to show up how wrong much of this argument is now shown to be. I.e., the Harran stele reopens the whole question again." For the text of the Harran stele, see above, pp. 46, 47.

are we to believe, I repeat, that the nation of the Jews throughout the world, many of whom certainly spoke and read Greek, should be so unacquainted with the history of the world in which they lived, as not to be able to detect and expose the falsities of such a pseudograph and to confute its claims to historicity and canonization?¹⁸

Even more remarkable is the fact that the Jews would have accepted the Book of Daniel as canonical when they classified as apocryphal such books as Tobit, Judith, and First Maccabees. The critics themselves are astonished at the readiness with which the Book of Daniel was accepted by the Jews of that period: "When his book appeared at the beginning of the Maccabean rebellion it must have electrified the readers, as may be surmised from its immediate influence on Jewish literature. It is quoted in Enoch, *Sibylline Oracles* 3:388-400; I Macc. 1:54; 2:59f., the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, etc., as well as in Josephus and the New Testament; and it became the model of later apocalypses."¹⁹

But R. H. Pfeiffer has completely missed the mark when he speculates that "well-known material could not have kindled the spirits in 168-165 nor have contributed to Judaism's triumph over a vicious attack, as the Book of Daniel unquestionably did."²⁰ The truth of the matter is that *nothing but well-known material*, and material that was believed to be *infallibly true and inspired of God*, could have served as a source of encouragement to the Jews in the hour when they were dying for their God-given faith and God-given Scriptures. It was for this very reason that the dying Mattathias appealed to the memory of Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, and Elijah, and then concluded with these words: "Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael believed and were saved from the flame. Daniel because of his innocence was delivered from the mouth of the lions."²¹ Once again, we must turn to R. D. Wilson for the best application of the argument:

A supposititious deliverance of an imaginary Daniel from the tyrannical edicts of a king of whose very existence the Jews were not aware, would be poor consolation in the midst of the cruel torments of the atrocious Epiphanes. The critic draws too much on our credulity, when he asks us to believe that the contemporaries of the heroic Judas Maccabeus would have been encouraged for their deadly conflict by

¹⁸Wilson, *SBD-1*, p. 171.

¹⁹Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 768.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 769.

²¹I Maccabees 2:59-60, *The Apocrypha of the Old Testament, Revised Standard Version* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957), p. 194. Compare I Macc. 1:54 for a clear allusion to Dan. 9:27 and 12:11. See E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885), pp. 320-326, for helpful discussion of the significance of these references.

any old wives' fables, or the cunningly devised craftiness of any nameless writer of fiction, however brilliant. People do not die for fiction but for faith.... When the writer of First Maccabees uses the story of the den of lions and Daniel's deliverance from it to encourage his readers, not he only, but they, must have believed in the actuality of that story. *This belief would involve a belief in the existence of Darius the Mede.* This belief must have been founded upon some knowledge of him, as well as of Daniel.²²

Thus, Mattathias' reference to Daniel's deliverance from the mouth of lions, as recorded by the author of First Maccabees, gives powerful testimony to the fact that Jews in the early second century B.C. *acknowledged the historicity of Darius the Mede.* That Daniel and his three friends were listed by Mattathias along with famous Old Testament heroes of faith indicates that the Jews thought them to be Old Testament (i.e., canonical) heroes too. And the mention of Daniel's deliverance from the lions (Dan. 6) *after* the mention of his three friends' deliverance from the fire (Dan. 3) gives additional support to our contention that Mattathias knew of the *Book of Daniel*, not merely oral traditions concerning Daniel.

Startling new discoveries in caves near the Dead Sea give important confirmation to the arguments presented above. Among the many manuscripts and tens of thousands of fragments found in the Wadi Qumran caves are several of the *Book of Daniel*. Fragments of Daniel were found in Cave I (1Q), three manuscripts of the book in Cave IV (4Q), and one papyrus manuscript written in semicursive script in Cave VI (6Q). William Sanford LaSor points out that

1QDan contains the portion where the language changes from Hebrew to Aramaic (Dan. 2:4), and 4QDan^{a,b} contain the portion where the language changes back from Aramaic to Hebrew (Dan. 7:28-8:1), demonstrating that the two languages were used, at precisely the points where they are found in the Daniel text today, in the time when the Qumran texts were produced.... this does not allow much time for the steps required by critical theories! In fact, Driver has pointed out, in arguing for a *later* date for the Qumran scrolls, that the early date would force an earlier dating of the composition of Daniel.²³

²²Wilson, *SBD-1*, pp. 168-169. Italics are ours.

²³*Amazing Dead Sea Scrolls* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1956), p. 42, and pp. 43-44. LaSor is referring to G. R. Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 9, note 5: "If the earliest possible date for the Scrolls is accepted, it clearly affects, if it does not undermine, a number of critical theories, e.g. the dating of Daniel c. 165 B.C. (Lambert in the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*, 1950, 496-7). . . . To a certain extent, indeed, anti-critical bias may underlie enthusiasm for the Maccabean date."

When a contemporary writer such as Duncan Howlett can assert, on the basis of a careful study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, that "there is probably no better explanation of the phenomenal success of the Jews in the Maccabean Wars than the Book of Daniel and the belief it generated among the Jews that the Lord God would intervene on their behalf if they kept the faith,"²⁴ it is surely high time for the critics to think through again the full implications of their theory that the Book of Daniel first saw the light of day in the years 168-165 B.C. It is simply incredible that the Jews of the Maccabean Age would have accepted as canonical a book "just off the press," as it were, and by an unknown author. Nor would there have been a unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance of the book if it were known to contain important historical errors and fictitious creations of the imagination, as the critics believe Darius the Mede to have been.²⁵

(6) *The author gives evidence of having a more accurate knowledge of Neo-Babylonian history than any ancient historian since the sixth century B.C.* One of the finest volumes ever written on the historical background of the fifth chapter of Daniel is the lengthy monograph by Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (Yale Oriental Series, Researches, Vol. XV, 1929), to which we have had occasion to make reference in previous chapters.²⁶ In view of the crucial importance of the historicity of the *fifth* chapter of Daniel for our discussion of the *sixth* chapter, we must quote in full the concluding paragraph of Dougherty's monograph, in which he summarizes his various arguments and points out the true significance of the references to Belshazzar in the fifth chapter of Daniel:

The foregoing summary of information concerning Belshazzar, when judged in the light of data obtained from the texts discussed in this monograph, indicates that of all non-Babylonian records dealing with the situation at the close of the Neo-Babylonian empire *the fifth chap-*

²⁴Duncan Howlett, *The Essenes and Christianity* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 44.

²⁵For two recent and conservative viewpoints on whether Daniel was included among the Prophets or the Writings, see E. J. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; and R. Laird Harris, *Inspiration and Canonicity of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1957), pp. 140-148.

²⁶James Montgomery's note is worth quoting here: "Only as this volume [his own work on Daniel in the *International Critical Commentary*] was being finally prepared for the press did the MS copy of Dr. Dougherty's volume come to hand. The data here presented, as, indeed, all the earlier studies, will be much antiquated by Dr. Dougherty's exhaustive volume" (*op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 12). It is unfortunate for R. H. Charles' discussion of Belshazzar (*op. cit.*, pp. 106-114), that he did not see Dougherty's work, published the very same year — 1929!

ter of Daniel ranks next to cuneiform literature in accuracy so far as outstanding events are concerned. The Scriptural account may be interpreted as excelling because it employs the name Belshazzar, because it attributes royal power to Belshazzar, and because it recognizes that a dual rulership existed in the kingdom. Babylonian cuneiform documents of the sixth century B.C. furnish clear-cut evidence of the correctness of these three basic historical nuclei contained in the Biblical narrative dealing with the fall of Babylon. Cuneiform texts written under Persian influence in the sixth century B.C. have not preserved the name Belshazzar, but his role as crown prince entrusted with royal power during Nabonidus' stay in Arabia is depicted convincingly. Two famous Greek historians (Herodotus and Xenophon) of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. do not mention Belshazzar by name and hint only vaguely at the actual political situation which existed in the time of Nabonidus. Annals in the Greek language ranging from about the beginning of the third century B.C. to the first century B.C. (the writings of Megasthenes, Berossus, and Alexander Polyhistor) are absolutely silent concerning Belshazzar and the prominence which he had during the last reign of the Neo-Babylonian empire. The total information found in all available chronologically-fixed documents later than the cuneiform texts of the sixth century B.C. and prior to the writings of Josephus of the first century A.D. could not have provided the necessary material for the historical framework of the fifth chapter of Daniel.²⁷

On the basis of this remarkable evidence, Dougherty makes his application in the final footnote of his monograph:

*The view that the fifth chapter of Daniel originated in the Maccabaeen age is discredited. Biblical critics have pushed back its date to the third century B.C. See Montgomery [A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel], p. 96, on the dating of Daniel 1-6. However, a narrative characterized by such an accurate historical perspective as Daniel 5 ought to be entitled to a place much nearer in time to the reliable documents which belong to the general epoch with which it deals.*²⁸

Strangely, R. H. Charles as much as admits that the author of the Book of Daniel had access to information concerning the Fall of Babylon which has been found elsewhere only in the Nabonidus Chronicle; for he claims that the information provided in that chronicle was the basis for the author's idea that Darius the Mede was an elderly man who appointed governors in Babylon after the fall of the city.²⁹ How this information concerning Gubaru, *which is found in no historical account*

²⁷Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200. Italics are his.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 200, n. 671. Italics are mine.

²⁹R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

of the *Fall of Babylon* written after the sixth century B.C., could have been handed down "in the course of tradition" to a Palestinian Jew of the second century B.C. is not explained. And if historical traditions from the end of the sixth century B.C. were this accurate and widespread, no Jewish scholar of the Maccabean Age could have made the blunders that modern critics attribute to the author of the Book of Daniel. The real reason, we believe, why the author's description of Darius the Mede is similar to the cuneiform evidence concerning Gubaru, is that Darius the Mede was Gubaru!

Even the most experienced among modern writers find it extremely difficult to write historical novels that give a true representation of the customs that were prevalent in earlier centuries and foreign lands. For an ancient writer, such an accomplishment would have been no less difficult. In the sixth chapter of Daniel, however, the author makes several allusions to the laws and customs of the Persian Empire which have been shown to be historically accurate.

In the first place, Darius the Mede found himself in an entirely different position from Nebuchadnezzar with respect to the making and breaking of laws. For Nebuchadnezzar is represented as being able to make and alter the laws of Babylon with absolute sovereignty (Dan. 2:12,13,46), while Darius the Mede found it impossible to do so (Dan. 6:8,9,12,14,16,17). Ancient history substantiates this difference between Babylon, where the law was subject to the king, and Medo-Persia, where the king was subject to the law. The well-known Biblical parallel is found in Esther 1:19 and 8:8; and according to Diodorus Siculus (xvii, 30), Darius III (335-331 B.C.) "repented and blamed himself, as having greatly erred" in commanding the death of Charidemus; "but it was not possible to undo what was done by royal authority."³⁰

In the second place, the official form of execution under Darius the Mede's administration is shown to be the den of lions (Dan. 6), whereas in the days of Nebuchadnezzar it had been the furnace of fire (Dan. 3, cf. Jer. 29:22). The historical significance of this change is that the state religion of Persia (Zoroastrianism) involved the worship of Atar the fire-god;³¹ and for the Persians to have used a fiery furnace as a means of destroying criminals would have appeared sacrilegious. Such details, introduced quite incidentally into the narrative, provide further evidence for the historicity of the sixth chapter of Daniel.

James A. Montgomery was much impressed with the Babylonian

³⁰Cited by Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

³¹A. T. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire*, p. 473.

atmosphere that pervades the first six chapters of the book. He maintained that these chapters "are of Babylonian *provenance*," and that "their sumptuous barbaric scenery is obviously not that of Palestine."³² Because of this, he felt compelled to date the first six chapters of the book in the third century B.C., leaving the last part of the book to another author in the Maccabean Age.³³ Robert H. Pfeiffer characteristically solves the problem raised by Montgomery: "The Babylonian background of the first part is the creation of the author's imagination (nourished by his sources of information) rather than an eyewitness description..."³⁴

Now Montgomery was correct in finding a "Babylonian *provenance*" in the first six chapters of Daniel and thus insisting that they were "pre-Maccabean, composed in Babylonia."³⁵ But he was wrong in sacrificing the unity of the book. The vast majority of critics have agreed that the Book of Daniel is a unit, written by a single author. In this connection, Pfeiffer writes:

The unity of the Book of Daniel has not only been maintained by eminent critics of the past generation (J. Wellhausen, K. Marti, G. F. Moore, C. H. Cornill, S. R. Driver, W. W. Baudissin, C. Steuernagel, etc.), but recently by J. A. Bewer (*The Literature of the Old Testament*, 1922), R. H. Charles (*Commentary on Daniel*, 1929), and H. H. Rowley (*Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, 1935). The arguments advanced for the attribution of our book to two distinct authors separated by nearly a century do not seem compelling to the present author, who not only sees no valid reason for questioning the unity of the book, but, like many others, finds in both its parts the same aim and the same historical background.³⁶

It is not difficult to see the implications of all this. Modern higher criticism maintains that the Book of Daniel was written by one author. Montgomery insisted that the first half of the book, including our sixth chapter on Darius the Mede, was "pre-Maccabean, composed in Babylonia." Dougherty has conclusively demonstrated that "the fifth chapter of Daniel ranks next to cuneiform literature in accuracy," and "ought to be entitled to a place much nearer in time [than the third century B.C.] to the reliable documents which belong to the general epoch with which it deals." Consequently, the Book of Daniel must be dated in the early

³²Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁴Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 762.

³⁵Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³⁶Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 761; cf. Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177.

Achaemenid period and Darius the Mede cannot be a conflation of confused traditions.³⁷

³⁷Two additional witnesses to the early date of Daniel may be mentioned here. The first is Ezekiel, who alludes to the events of Daniel 1-2 in his comparison of the righteousness of Daniel with that of Noah and Job (14:14,20) and in his reference to the wisdom of Daniel (28:3). Critics have identified the Daniel spoken of by Ezekiel with the Dan'el of a Ras Shamra epic. However, it is quite fantastic to suppose that Ezekiel would have classed Noah and Job with a legendary Phoenician hero. Furthermore, Daniel's fame for righteousness and wisdom had been established in Babylonia as early as 603/602 B.C. (Dan. 2:1), and Ezekiel did not begin to write his prophecies in Babylonia until ten years later (Ezek. 1:1-3). See E. J. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.

The second witness is Josephus. In his *Antiquities of the Jews* (X:11,7; and XII:7,6), he states that Daniel wrote his prophecies more than 400 years before Antiochus Epiphanes; and he tells how Alexander the Great was shown the prophecies in the Book of Daniel concerning himself (XI:8,5). It is interesting that the critics are happy to use the testimony of Josephus that Jaddua was the high priest who met Alexander (XI:8,4), but refuse the testimony of Josephus that the Book of Daniel was shown to him! See R. D. Wilson, "Darius," *ISBE* (reprint; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1946), II, 789. That the testimony of Josephus has been too lightly set aside by modern scholars is pointed out by R. D. Wilson in SBD-2, pp. 235-240.

Chapter Seven

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

For nearly a century, archaeological sites in the Near East have given forth abundantly of their hidden treasures to those who have sought in them confirmation and illumination of the Holy Scriptures. Time and again places, persons, and even kingdoms that were known only by virtue of their appearance in the Bible have come to light through the persistence of the archaeologist, and have demanded a renewed study and appreciation of the sacred text. Names such as Megiddo, Lachish, and Ezion-geber; Canaanites, Hittites, Assyrians; Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and Belshazzar; to name but a few, have taken on an entirely new significance for Bible scholars in recent generations.

But the very brilliance of this new light from the ancient Near East has served only to increase the enigma of Darius the Mede in the minds of many. To this very hour not a single inscription or tablet has been found which bears his name; and yet he occupied an extremely prominent position in Babylonia after 539 B.C., according to the Book of Daniel. Is it possible that Darius the Mede never actually existed, and that he is, as the critics have long maintained, the mere figment of an ancient writer's imagination?

In this monograph, the writer has attempted to show that there is one person in history, and only one, who fits all the Biblical data concerning Darius the Mede. He is never mentioned by the Greek historians, but appears in various sixth century B.C. cuneiform texts under the name of Gubaru.

To be sure, many scholars have seen the resemblances between this person and the Darius of Daniel's sixth chapter. But an inaccurate translation of the Nabonidus Chronicle at the time of its first publication in 1882 obscured for nearly half a century the clear distinction between Ugbaru and Gubaru in that chronicle, and also obscured the fact that Ugbaru died shortly after the Fall of Babylon. For this reason, many were led to assume that Ugbaru and Gubaru were the same person and were to be identified also with the "Gobryas" of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.

This effort to identify Darius the Mede with a composite "Gobryas" was clearly unsatisfactory, and opened the door for critics to deny any

possibility of an historical identification for Darius the Mede. For one thing, Xenophon's "Gobryas" was an Assyrian, not a Mede. And secondly, Ugbaru in the Nabonidus Chronicle (whose true identity had been obscured by the name "Gobryas") is introduced by the Persian scribe as the Governor of Gutium — a title that fails to support the Median nationality of its bearer.

But Sidney Smith's new translation of the Nabonidus Chronicle in 1924, plus the publication of additional Babylonian contract tablets bearing the name of Gubaru, made it possible for the first time to see the error of the earlier "Gobryas" identification. Now it became evident that Ugbaru, not Gubaru, was the Governor of Gutium who conquered Babylon, and that this Ugbaru could not possibly be the great Governor of Babylon mentioned in the same Nabonidus Chronicle and in the later contract tablets because he died only three weeks after the Fall of Babylon in 539 B.C. The Assyrian "Gobryas" of Xenophon may well have been the Ugbaru of the Nabonidus Chronicle. In thus separating Ugbaru the Governor of Gutium from Gubaru the Governor of Babylon, the way is opened for identifying Darius the Mede with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon.

Professor H. H. Rowley's objections to the "Gobryas" identification as set forth in his *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires of the Book of Daniel* (1935) were examined in Chapter Four and shown to be inadequate. He exaggerated the Biblical picture of Darius the Mede's sovereignty into that of a universal monarch, and obscured the true greatness of Gubaru the Governor of Babylon, thus making the identification of these two seem impossible. Worse still, by failing to take into full account Sidney Smith's newer translation of 1924, he perpetuated the "Gobryas" confusion of an earlier generation.

Chapter Five was devoted to an examination of two major alternate identifications for Darius the Mede in history: Cambyases and Cyrus. Both of these hypotheses were seen to face fatal difficulties in view of the clear statements in Daniel 9:1 that Darius was "*the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes.*" Furthermore, the Cambyases theory was shown to be irreconcilable with the fact that Darius the Mede was sixty-two years old in 539 B.C. (Dan. 5:31), and with the fact that Cambyases was denied the title "King of Babylon" until 530 B.C.

In the sixth and final chapter, various arguments were presented to show that Darius the Mede could not have been a more conflation of confused traditions in the mind of a second century B.C. Jewish writer. This theory, so firmly entrenched in the thinking of modern critics,

suffers fatal blows from the following considerations: (1) even the critics admit that the author of the Book of Daniel must have been a brilliant scholar; (2) the author gives every indication that he intended Darius the Mede to be understood as an historical character; (3) no brilliant Jew of the Maccabean Age could have been as ignorant of Neo-Babylonian and Persian history as the "reflection hypothesis" demands; (4) there are various ways of showing that the author did not believe in the existence of an independent Median kingdom between the Fall of Babylon and the rise of Persia; (5) if the author were as ignorant of history as the critics claim, the Jews of the Maccabean Age would never have accepted his book as canonical; and (6) the author gives evidence of having a more accurate knowledge of Neo-Babylonian history than any ancient historian since the sixth century B.C.

It is true that the name "Darius the Mede" has not yet been found in any extra-Biblical inscription of pre-Christian times. Nevertheless, Gubaru the Governor of Babylon fits the Biblical description of Darius the Mede so remarkably that the writer believes he will be recognized in due time as the monarch who played such an important role in the life of Daniel after the Fall of Babylon.

* * * * *

The question of the historicity of Darius the Mede in the Book of Daniel can never be merely an academic question for those who acknowledge the final authority of Jesus Christ. In the Olivet Discourse, Christ warned: "When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, *which was spoken of through Daniel the prophet*, standing in the holy place (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judea flee unto the mountains..." (Matt. 24:15-16). It is quite evident from this statement that our Lord believed the author of the book to be "Daniel the prophet," not some unknown writer of the second or third centuries B.C.

At the turn of the century, J. D. Prince took issue with this conclusion; but in so doing, he set forth in startling clarity the alternatives which lie before us:

This reference... shows merely that Jesus was referring to the book by its commonly accepted title. If the conservative critics could prove that our Lord meant his hearers to understand by these words that the quotation He was uttering was actually an expression of a Prophet named Daniel who lived at the Babylonian court, then every true believer in the infallibility of the utterances of Jesus would be in duty bound to accept His dictum as final. Such a conclusion, however, is

by no means justified by the context in which our Lord's words appear. In His vivid prophecy of the impending fall of Jerusalem, He simply made use of an apt quotation from a well-known work in order to illustrate and give additional force to His own prediction.¹

The reader must judge for himself whether the Lord was merely making use of "an apt quotation from a well-known work," or was actually making Daniel the author of the prophecy. For our part, however, the latter alternative is the only one that fairly interprets the passage; and therefore we find ourselves "in duty bound to accept His dictum as final."

A full generation after the publication of Prince's volume, Professor H. H. Rowley of England labored mightily to destroy our belief in the historicity of Darius the Mede; and he concluded his volume by assuring us that God still speaks through the Book of Daniel. "Its very historical mistakes," he wrote, "add to the fulness of its religious message to our hearts, for the God Who maketh the wrath of men to praise Him can also convert the mistakes of His servants, whose hearts are consecrated to His service, to rich use."²

That Professor Rowley can actually believe the religious value of a document to increase with its historical blunders is psychologically interesting. But the attitude of Jesus Christ toward Biblical inspiration was totally different from this, as is evidenced in the rebuke He administered to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus: "O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in *all that the prophets have spoken!*" (Luke 24:25). In similar fashion, He assured His hearers that "the scripture cannot be broken" (John 10:35); and that "one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all things be accomplished" (Matt. 5:18).

It is in this light that the Christian scholar must approach the Scriptures and investigate such problems as the historicity of Darius the Mede. His conviction that Darius the Mede actually lived in the sixth century B.C. and did the things ascribed to him in the Book of Daniel does not depend upon the confirmation of cuneiform documents; but he is confident that the discovery of new documents can only serve to confirm the statements of God's Word.

¹J. Dyneley Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1899), p. 23.

²Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

Appendix I

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS DOWN TO 520 B.C.¹

Around 1500 B.C. Aryan peoples first moved into that high plateau region to the east of the Tigris River and to the south of the Caucasus Mountains and Caspian Sea which constitutes the northwestern part of a large country known since 1935 as Iran (from "Airyana" or "land of the Aryans"). The two principal Aryan tribes were the Medes and the Persians. The Medes lived to the east and south of Lake Urmia, and the Persians lived in Parsua, a region to the west of that large lake.

It is in 836 B.C. that we find the first mention of the Medes and Persians in Assyrian records. In that year, Shalmaneser III received tribute from the kings of "Parsua" and reached eastward to the lands of the "Mada." Just one hundred years after this, Tiglathpileser III invaded Parsua and received tribute from Median chiefs. *Deioces* was the first to unite the nomadic Median tribes into one nation; but he was taken captive by the Assyrians in 715 B.C. and was deported to Syria. His successor, *Cyaxares I* paid tribute to Sargon, king of Assyria, and attacked the Assyrian province of Harhar in 702 B.C.

About the year 700 B.C., Cimmerian and Scythian tribes began to move south into the Iranian plateau, pushing the Medes before them. Also, the Persians moved south from Parsua to a region south of the Elamite land of Anzan (or Anshan) and named it Parsumash in memory of their original home. At this time their leader was *Achaemenes* (700-675 B.C.), founder of the Achaemenian dynasty, who is noted for having led troops from Parsumash and Anzan against Sennacherib at Halulina in 681 B.C.

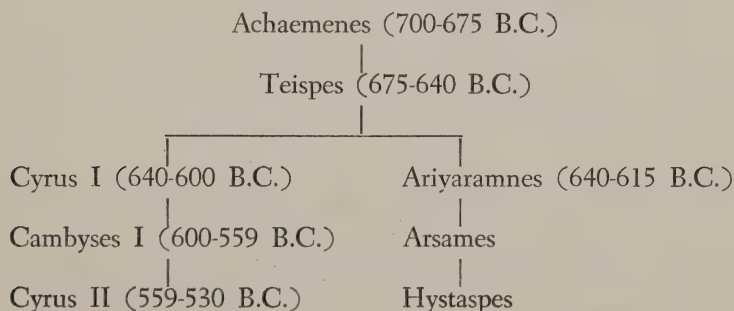
Phraortes, king of the Medes, began his twenty-two-year reign in 675 B.C. by forming an anti-Assyrian coalition of Medes and Cimmerians,

¹The sources used in compiling this historical survey were: R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1954); Jack Finegan, *Light From the Ancient Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946); George G. Cameron, *Histoire de L'Iran Antique* (Paris: Payot, 1937); Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1948); H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (11th ed.; London: Methuen and Co., 1952).

and causing the Persians to become his vassals. But the Persians, under the leadership of *Teispes* (675-640 B.C.), son of Achaemenes, regained their independence from the Medes following the death of Phraortes in 653 B.C. The Persians were also able to conquer some territory to the east of Parsumash, which they named Parsa; and after the destruction of Elam by the Assyrians in 646 B.C., Teispes assumed the title, "Great King, King of the City Anshan."

Cyaxares II (635-585 B.C.), the new Median king, remained under the power of the Scythians during the first twenty-eight years of his reign; but he finally threw off their yoke and succeeded again in dominating the Persians. In 615 B.C. he led the Medes in a mighty invasion of Assyria, and with the aid of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, conquered Nineveh in 612 B.C. Two years later he delivered the final blow to the Assyrian army by defeating Ashuruballit at Harran. Absorbing all of northern Mesopotamia, he moved into Asia Minor, met the powerful Lydians, and was forced to establish a common frontier with them at the river Halys (May 28, 585 B.C.).

In the meantime, Teispes had divided his territory between his two sons, *Ariyaramnes* (640-615) and *Cyrus I* (640-600), the former taking the eastern region of Parsa and the latter ruling over Parsumash and the city of Anshan. However, both of these Persian kings remained vassals of the Medes. The son and grandson of Ariyaramnes, *Arsames* and *Hystaspes*, remained petty rulers; but the son of Cyrus I, *Cambyses I* (600-559), married Mandane the daughter of *Astyages* (585-550), successor to the throne of Media. Their son was *Cyrus II, the Great*. Amytis, another daughter of Astyages, became a wife of Nebuchadnezzar; and it was for her sake that he ordered the famous Hanging Gardens of Babylon to be constructed. The Achaemenian dynasty down to the time of Cyrus II, the Great, may be represented by the following genealogical table (the earlier dates are approximate):



Cyrus II became king of Anshan about 559 B.C., and soon began an insurrection against the weak and corrupt Astyages, king of the Medes, with the help of Nabonidus, the new king of Babylonia. Astyages attempted to crush the revolt, but his general Harpagus, whom he had previously wronged, deserted the cause of Astyages and brought his soldiers over to the side of young Cyrus. The Median king was soon seized by his men, and the Persians took the capital city of Ecbatana in 550 B.C. without a battle. From this time forward, the Medes and Persians fought and served together as one unit under the brilliant leadership of Cyrus.

After the conquest of Media, Cyrus moved swiftly to the west, absorbing all of the Median territories as far as the river Halys in Asia Minor. When Croesus, the fabulously wealthy king of Lydia, refused to recognize the sovereignty of Persia, Cyrus defeated him in battle and took over his empire (546 B.C.). Seven years later he was ready to launch the great assault against Babylon itself.

The Neo-Babylonian empire was in no condition to resist a Medo-Persian invasion in the year 539 B.C. During the preceding fourteen years Nabonidus, the Neo-Babylonian king, had not so much as visited Babylon, leaving the administration of that great city in the hands of his profligate son Belshazzar, whose name appears on the cuneiform tablets as "the son of the king." Nabonidus weakened the empire by concentrating his favors upon the cult of the god Sin at the expense of Babylonian deities, thus incurring the wrath of the priesthood.

Realizing that danger was near, Nabonidus came to Babylon for the New Year's festival of April 4, 539 B.C., and began to bring the images of Babylonian divinities into the city from surrounding areas. But it was all to no avail. Toward the end of September, the armies of Cyrus under the command of Ugbaru, governor of Gutium, attacked Opis on the Tigris and defeated the Babylonians. On October 10 Sippar was taken without a battle and Nabonidus fled. Two days later Ugbaru's troops were able to get into Babylon while Belshazzar, completely oblivious of the doom that awaited him, was engaged in a riotous banquet within the "impregnable" walls of the city. The fateful day was October 12; in that same night Belshazzar was slain. Not long afterwards Nabonidus was taken captive.

Cyrus entered Babylon on October 29 and presented himself to the people as a gracious liberator and benefactor. He permitted the gods whom Nabonidus had brought into Babylon to be carried back to their respective cities, and pursued a benevolent policy toward various captive

peoples who had suffered under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. The Jews were favored with a special decree permitting them to return to Palestine and rebuild their ruined temple (Ezra 1).

The same day that Cyrus came to Babylon, Gubaru, the new governor or satrap of Babylon and the Region beyond the River, began to appoint sub-governors to rule with him over the vast territories and populations of the Fertile Crescent. On November 6, Ugbaru, the conqueror of Babylon, died; and in March the mother of Belshazzar (Nitocris, wife of Nabonidus and daughter of Nebuchadnezzar) died in Babylon and was publically mourned for five days. Turning the administration of the huge satrapy of Babylonia over to Gubaru, Cyrus left for Ecbatana toward the end of his accession year.

In the meantime, *Cambyses*, son of Cyrus, lived in Sippar and represented his father at the New Year's festivals in Babylon as "the King's son." He was also given the task of preparing for an expedition against Egypt. In 530 B.C., Cyrus appointed his son to be his successor and co-regent just before setting out upon a campaign to the far northeast in the Oxus and Jaxartes region; and at the New Year's festival of March 26, 530 B.C., Cambyses assumed the title "King of Babylon" for the first time, while Cyrus retained the broader title "King of Lands." In the autumn of the same year news reached Babylonia that Cyrus had died on the field of battle. Cambyses was now the sole ruler of the great Persian Empire.

After securing his position on the throne, Cambyses began his conquest of Egypt. He defeated Psammetichus III at Pelusium in 525 B.C. and occupied the entire country. But news of troubles in the homeland disturbed him; and when, on his way home in Palestine, he heard that a pretender had taken the throne, he committed suicide. Fearing disloyalty, Cambyses had previously ordered his brother Smerdis (or Bardiya) to be killed; but now a man named Gaumata set himself up as the king of Persia, claiming to be Smerdis. The Pseudo-Smerdis, as he was later called, gained a huge following by remitting taxes for three years throughout the Empire.²

This would have been the end of the Achaemenian dynasty had not *Darius*, son of Hystaspes and great-grandson of Ariyaramnes (brother

²Olmstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-110, maintains that the "Pseudo-Smerdis" was not a usurper, but was actually Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses; and that Darius Hystaspes concocted the whole "Pseudo-Smerdis" story in order to justify his own bid for the throne of Persia. To be sure, it is on the basis of Darius' own story in the Behistun Inscription that Smerdis was later assumed (even by the Greeks) to be a usurper.

of Cyrus I), retained the loyalty of the Persian army. Within the brief space of two months he succeeded in capturing and killing the Pseudo-Smerdis (522 B.C.), and during the next two years defeated nine kings in nineteen battles. His own account of these victories is recorded in the famous Behistun Inscription, carved on the face of a rock cliff three hundred feet above the level of the plain near the old road from Ecbatana to Babylon. Thus the second major phase of Achaemenian rule was launched, to end only with the conquests of Alexander the Great in 331 B.C.

Appendix II

DATED EVENTS IN THE YEAR OF BABYLON'S FALL¹

New Year's festival observed by the Babylonians (4th of Nisan)	April 7, 539 B.C.
Opis attacked by Cyrus (Tishri)	Sept.-Oct., 539 B.C.
Sippar captured by Cyrus (14th of Tishri)	Oct. 10, 539 B.C.
Babylon taken by Ugbaru (16th of Tishri)	Oct. 12, 539 B.C.
First tablet dated in the reign of Cyrus (Tishri)	Sept.-Oct., 539 B.C.
Babylon entered by Cyrus; and Gubaru, his governor, appoints governors in Babylon (3rd of Marchesvan)	Oct. 29, 539 B.C.
Next to last Nabonidus tablet (10th Marchesvan)	Nov. 5, 539 B.C.
Death of Ugbaru (11th of Marchesvan)	Nov. 6, 539 B.C.
Second Cyrus tablet (24th of Marchesvan)	Nov. 19, 539 B.C.
Last Nabonidus tablet (Kislev)	Nov.-Dec., 539 B.C.
Beginning of period of mourning for some prominent person, possibly Belshazzar's mother (28th of Adar)	Mar. 21, 538 B.C.
End of period of mourning (3rd of Nisan)	Mar. 26, 538 B.C.
Cambyses, son of Cyrus, enters the Temple, appar- ently for some religious ceremony (4th of Nisan)	Mar. 27, 538 B.C.

¹Based upon Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 170-175, and Boufflower, *In and Around the Book of David*, pp. 146-147. The restatement of the Babylonian dates in terms of the Julian calendar was made possible through the use of tables provided in Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press, 1956), p. 29. Dougherty points out (*op. cit.*, p. 171) that the first half of this year is known as the 17th year of Nabonidus, and the last half as the accession year of Cyrus. Between the seventh and ninth months, there was a period of confusion when some scribes accepted Cyrus as king and others continued to recognize Nabonidus. Dougherty also states (*op. cit.*, p. 175) that there is no cuneiform evidence for the death of Nabonidus; but the prominent person whose death on March 21, 538 B.C. was mourned for five days, was probably Nitocris, the mother of Belshazzar, wife of Nabonidus, and daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of Daniel (vv. 10-12).

Appendix III

NEO-BABYLONIAN AND PERSIAN KINGS

1. *Nabopolassar* (Nabu-apal-usur) — founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. (626-605 B.C.)
2. *Nebuchadnezzar* (Nabu-kudurri-usur) — his son and the greatest of the Neo-Babylonian kings. (605-562 B.C.)
3. *Evil-Merodach* (Amel-Marduk) — his son. (562-560 B.C.)
4. *Neriglissar* (Nergal-shar-usur) — a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar. (560-556 B.C.)
5. *Laborosoarchad* (Labashi-marduk) — his son (a few months in 556 B.C.)
6. *Nabonidus* (Nabu-na'id) — probably the husband of Nitocris, a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and the father of *Belshazzar*, who shared the throne during the last years of his reign. (556-539 B.C.)
1. *Cyrus the Great* (539-530 B.C.)
2. *Cambyzes* (530-522 B.C.)
3. *Gautama*, or *Smerdis*, or *Bardiya* (a few months in 522 B.C.)
4. *Darius I - Hystaspes* (521-486 B.C.)
5. *Xerxes* (486-465 B.C.)
6. *Artaxerxes I - Longimanus* (464-423 B.C.)
7. *Darius II - Ochus* (423-404 B.C.)
8. *Artaxerxes II - Memnon* (404-359 B.C.)
9. *Artaxerxes III - Ochus* (359-338 B.C.)
10. *Arses* (338-335 B.C.)
11. *Darius III* (335-331 B.C.)

¹The information in this list has been compiled from Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 7; Finegan, *Light From the Ancient Past*, pp. 192-205; and Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75*, pp. 11-19.

Appendix IV

PASSAGES IN XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA THAT REFER TO GOBRYAS¹

IV, 6:1-9

1. Meanwhile Gobryas, an Assyrian, a man well advanced in years, came up on horseback with a cavalry escort; and they all carried cavalry weapons. And those who were assigned to the duty of receiving the weapons ordered them to surrender their spears, that they might burn them as they had done with the rest. But Gobryas said that he wished to see Cyrus first. Then the officers left the rest of the horsemen there, but Gobryas they conducted to Cyrus.
2. And when he saw Cyrus he spoke as follows: "Sire, I am by birth an Assyrian; I have also a castle, and wide are the domains which I govern. I have also about a thousand horse which I used to put at the disposal of the Assyrian king, and I used to be his most devoted friend. But since he has been slain by you, excellent man that he was, and since his son, who is my worst enemy, has succeeded to his crown, I have come to you and fall a suppliant at your feet. I offer myself to be your vassal and ally and ask that you will be my avenger; and thus, in the only way I may, I make you my son, for I have no male child more.
3. For he who was my son, my only son, a beautiful and brave young man, Sire, and one who loved me and paid me the filial reverence that would make a father happy...
[Gobryas relates how the present king of Assyria killed his son during an animal hunt.]

¹T. E. Page and W. H. D. Rouse (eds.), *The Loeb Classical Library: Xenophon's Cyropaedia* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914). It has long been recognized that Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, or *The Education of Cyrus* (written about 370 B.C.), is primarily an historical romance. But it doubtless rests upon a substratum of facts; and if so, we believe that his Gobryas may refer to Ugbaru the Governor of Gutium who is mentioned in the Nabonidus Chronicle as having conquered Babylon for Cyrus (as opposed to Gubaru who appointed governors in Babylon for Cyrus). After listing several historical blunders in the *Cyropaedia*, the editors point out that "there is much, on the other hand, that has been overlooked by the critics, though it is of prime importance for the history and the conditions of the orient in Xenophon's own times. The account he gives us of the Armenians and Chaldaeans, for example, affords us information, more full and more valuable than we have from any other source. Xenophon knew his Herodotus and Ctesias, of course, and probably other earlier historians whom we cannot identify; and he drew at will from those sources such facts as he needed for the earlier history of the East" (I, x).

7. If, therefore you will receive me and I may find some hope of getting with your help some vengeance for my dear son, I think that I should find my youth again and, if I live, I should no longer live in shame; and if I die, I think that I should die without a regret."
8. Thus he spoke; and Cyrus answered: "Well, Gobryas, if you prove that you really mean all that you say to us, I not only receive you as a suppliant, but promise you with the help of the gods to avenge the murder of your son. But tell me," said he, "if we do this for you and let you keep your castle and your province and the power which you had before, what service will you do us in return for that?"
9. "The castle," he answered, "I will give you for your quarters when you come; the tribute of the province, which before I used to pay to him, I will pay to you; and whithersoever you march I will march with you at the head of the forces of my province. . . ."

VII, 5:7-34 (The Fall of Babylon)

7. When they had encamped, Cyrus called together his staff-officers and said: "Friends and allies, we have viewed the city on every side. But I am sure I cannot see how any one could take by storm walls so massive and so high; but the more men there are in the city, the sooner they can, I think, be brought by famine to capitulate, seeing that they will not come out and fight. Therefore, unless you have some other method to suggest, I propose that we use this method of laying siege to those gentlemen."
8. "But," said Chrysantas, "does not this river flow through the midst of the city? And it is more than two stadia in width." "Aye, by Zeus," said Gobryas, "and its depth is such that two men, one standing on the other's shoulders, would not reach the surface of the water, so that the city is better defended by the river than by its walls."
9. "Chrysantas," Cyrus answered, "let us not trouble ourselves with that which is beyond our powers; but we must apportion the work among ourselves as quickly as possible, to each contingent its proper share, and dig a ditch as wide and as deep as possible, so that we may require only as many men on guard as are absolutely indispensable."
10. Accordingly, he took measurements in a circle round about the city, leaving just enough room by the river for the erection of large towers, and began on either side of the city to dig an immense trench; and the earth from it they threw up on their own side of the ditch.
11. First of all, he began to build towers by the river, laying his foundations with the trunks of date-palms not less than a hundred feet long—and they grow even taller than that. And they were good material for this purpose, for it is a well-known fact that date-palms, when under heavy pressure, bend upward like the backs of packasses.

12. These he used as "mud-sills," in order that, even if the river should break into his trench above, it might not carry his towers away. And he erected many other towers besides upon the breast-works of earth, so that he might have as many watch-towers as possible.
13. Thus, then, his men were employed, while the enemy upon the walls laughed his siege-works to scorn, in the belief that they had provisions enough for more than twenty years. Upon hearing this, Cyrus divided his army into twelve parts as if intending each part to be responsible for sentry duty during one month of each year;
14. but the Babylonians, in their turn, when they heard of that, laughed much more scornfully still, at the thought of Phrygians and Lydians and Arabians and Cappadocians keeping guard against them, for they considered all these to be more friendly to them than to the Persians.
15. At last the ditches were completed. Then, when he heard that a certain festival had come round in Babylon, during which all Babylon was accustomed to drink and revel all night long, Cyrus took a large number of men, just as soon as it was dark, and opened up the heads of the trenches at the river.
16. As soon as that was done, the water flowed down through the ditches in the night, and the bed of the river, where it traversed the city, became passable for men.
17. When the problem of the river was thus solved, Cyrus gave orders to his Persian colonels, infantry and cavalry, to marshal their regiments two abreast and come to him, and the rest, the allies, to follow in their rear, drawn up as before.
18. They came, according to orders, and he bade his aides, both foot and horse, get into the dry channel of the river and see if it was possible to march in the bed of the river.
19. And when they brought back word that it was, he called together the generals of both infantry and cavalry and spoke as follows:
20. "My friends," said he, "the river has made way for us and given us an entrance into the city. Let us, therefore enter in with dauntless hearts, fearing nothing and remembering that those against whom we are now to march are the same men that we have repeatedly defeated, and that, too, when they were all drawn up in battle line with their allies at their side, and when they were all wide awake and sober and fully armed;
21. whereas now we are going to fall upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many drunk, and none of them in battle array. And when they find out that we are inside the walls, in their panic fright they will be much more helpless still than they are now.
22. "But if any one is apprehensive of that which is said to be a source of terror to those invading a city—namely, that the people may go up on the house-tops and hurl down missiles right and left, you need not be in the least afraid of that; for if any do go up upon their houses, we have a god on our side, Hephaestus. And their

- porticoes are very inflammable, for the doors are made of palm-wood and covered with bituminous varnish which will burn like tinder;
23. while we, on our side, have plenty of pine-wood for torches, which will quickly produce a mighty conflagration; we have also plenty of pitch and tow, which will quickly spread the flames everywhere, so that those upon the housetops must either quickly leave their posts or quickly be consumed.
24. "But come, to arms! and with the help of the gods I will lead you on. And do you, Gadatas and Gobryas, show the streets, for you are familiar with them. And when we get inside the walls, lead us by the quickest route to the royal palace."
25. "Aye," answered Gobryas and his staff, "in view of the revelry, it would not be at all surprising if the gates leading to the palace were open, for all the city is feasting this night. Still, we shall find a guard before the gates, for one is always posted there." "We must not lose time, then," said Cyrus. "Forward, that we may catch the men as unprepared as we can."
26. When these words were spoken, they advanced. And of those they met on the way, some fell by their swords, some fled back into their houses, some shouted to them; and Gobryas and his men shouted back to them, as if they were fellow-revellers. They advanced as fast as they could and were soon at the palace.
27. And Gobryas and Gadatas and their troops found the gates leading to the palace locked, and those who had been appointed to attack the guard fell upon them as they were drinking by a blazing fire, and without waiting they dealt with them as with foes.
28. But, as a noise and tumult ensued, those within heard the uproar, and at the king's command to see what the matter was, some of them opened the gates and ran out.
29. And when Gadatas and his men saw the gates open they dashed in in pursuit of the others as they fled back into the palace, and dealing blows right and left they came into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with his dagger in his hand.
30. And Gadatas and Gobryas and their followers overpowered him; and those about the king perished also, one where he had sought some shelter, another while running away, another while actually trying to defend himself with whatever he could.
31. Cyrus then sent the companies of cavalry around through the streets and gave them orders to cut down all whom they found out of doors, while he directed those who understood Assyrian to proclaim to those in their houses that they should stay there, for if anyone should be caught outside, he would be put to death.
32. While they were thus occupied, Gadatas and Gobryas came up; and first of all they did homage to the gods, seeing that they had avenged themselves upon the wicked king, and then they kissed Cyrus's hands and his feet with many tears of joy.

33. And when day dawned and those in possession of the citadels discovered that the city was taken and the king slain, they surrendered the citadels, too.
34. And Cyrus at once took possession of the citadels and sent up to them guards and officers of the guards. As for the dead, he gave their relatives permission to bury them. He furthermore ordered the heralds to make proclamation that all Babylonians deliver up their arms; and he ordered that wherever arms should be found in any house, all the occupants should be put to the sword. So they delivered up their arms and Cyrus stored them in the citadels, so that they might be ready if he ever needed them for use.

[In section VIII, 4:1-27, Gobryas attends a great banquet prepared by Cyrus, at which time he gives his daughter in marriage to Hystaspes, one of Cyrus' Persian generals. The passage also mentions that Mardonius was the name of Gobryas' son.]

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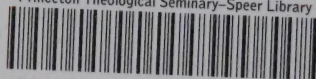
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